



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

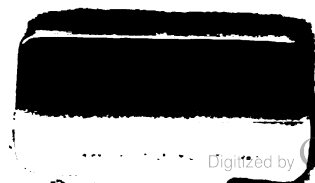
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



ED LIBRARY











# J A P A N









# JAPAN

DESCRIBED AND ILLUSTRATED BY  
THE JAPANESE

*WRITTEN BY EMINENT JAPANESE  
AUTHORITIES AND SCHOLARS*

EDITED BY  
CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY

Vol. I.

ILLUSTRATED

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
LIBRARY  
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE  
DAVIS

J. B. MILLET COMPANY  
BOSTON AND TOKYO

**U.C.D. LIBRARY**

Digitized by Google

**COPYRIGHT, 1904**  
**By J. B. MILLET COMPANY**

**Entered at Stationers' Hall, London, England**

TO THE  
LIBRARY OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF  
CAMBRIDGE

**THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.**

## INTRODUCTION

**I**T IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE that the English-speaking people shall have an accurate and trustworthy history of the Japanese people. This is important not only to my own nation, since it will be the means of presenting us in our true light, but important also to all other nations, since it will enable them to judge of us with full knowledge.

This view was strongly expressed by the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, whom I met in London, in 1890. In our discussion in regard to the future of the Japanese Empire, Mr. Spencer said that since Japan had come into the rank and file of Constitutional countries, the first thing she ought to do was to have some one write a book on the history of Japan, and thereby get the Western people "to open their eyes" on all the subjects relating to Japan.

[v]

619423  
44266

## INTRODUCTION

There is no one who is better equipped to edit or to write a work of this sort than Captain F. Brinkley, of Tokyo, who has spent forty years of his life in the Orient, — a great portion of that time as correspondent of the London great dailies and as editor of the *Japan Mail*. It gives me the greatest pleasure to recommend him to all serious students of Japanese history.

It must be apparent to any one who is paying attention to the present history-making epoch in the Orient that in the future the diplomatic as well as the business connections between Japan and America will be of far greater importance than they have ever been. It is difficult enough for two nations who speak the same language to thoroughly understand each other. It is far more difficult for two nations who speak different languages, whose traditions are unlike and whose nearest neighbours are frequently at variance with their respective policies.

By far the greater majority of books which are published about the Japanese are the work of casual observers, and it therefore follows that many false impressions have been given to Eng-

## INTRODUCTION

lish-speaking readers. For this reason, all Japanese authorities and all friends of Japan will welcome a work which is made up, not of theories but of facts, and which is intended to interest and not simply to amuse.

Therefore this book will be considered as a Medium through which the Western people will be able to acquaint themselves with the rôle that the Island Empire of the East will play largely on the arena of the Pacific politics in the coming century.

KENTARO KANEKO.





# CONTENTS

	Page
I	
THE EMPIRE ; ITS SIZE, BUILDINGS, CITIES, AND SCENERY	1
II	
THE EARLY JAPANESE AND THEIR HISTORY . . . .	61
III	
THE EARLY JAPANESE AND THEIR HISTORY ( <i>concluded</i> )	84
IV	
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOKUGAWA DYNASTY, AND JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE ORIENT IN THE EARLY AGES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA . . .	136
V	
JAPAN'S DEBT TO CONTINENTAL NEIGHBOURS IN EARLY ERAS . . . . .	193
VI	
MEDIEVAL JAPAN . . . . .	234



## ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Japanese Photograph, Coloured by hand . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Fujiyama from Numigawa . . . . .	8
Wrecked by an Earthquake . . . . .	16
Hakone Lake and Village, with the Emperor's Palace in the Distance . . . . .	32
Torii at Miyajima . . . . .	40
A Country Road . . . . .	48
A Tattooed Man . . . . .	56
A Cave Dweller at Dogashima . . . . .	72
Fuji-Ya at Miyanoshita . . . . .	80
Bronze Lantern from Korea and Candelabrum from Holland . . . . .	88
Garden at Daimichido . . . . .	96
Samurai in Armour . . . . .	112
Haruna Lake, above Ikao . . . . .	120
Fencing . . . . .	128
Nagoya Castle . . . . .	136
Nakajima, Nagasaki . . . . .	144
Giant Pine Tree at Karasaki . . . . .	160
Threshing Grain . . . . .	168
Miogi Mountain . . . . .	176

## ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
View of Katsura River near Arashiyama . . . . .	184
Footbridge across the Miyanoshita River . . . . .	200
The Nagara-Gawa Bridge after the Great Earthquake in 1891 . . . . .	208
Boat Bridge on the Nakasendo . . . . .	216
Sea Cave at Enoshima . . . . .	224
Side View of the Bronze Buddha . . . . .	240
Every-day Costumes of the Better Class . . . . .	248

---

# J A P A N

---

## I

### THE EMPIRE; ITS SIZE, BUILDINGS, CITIES, AND SCENERY



SINCE THE RESUMPTION OF her intercourse with Western nations nearly fifty years ago, Japan has attracted multitudes of foreign tourists, and has inspired an extraordinarily large number of them to write books about her beauties and her quaintnesses. Not one of these many authors has been wholly condemnatory. Most of them found something to admire in the manners and customs of her people, and all have been charmed by her scenery. Certainly in the matter of seascape and landscape Nature has been profusely kind to the Isles of Nippon. They rise out of the sea with so many graces of form, and lie bathed in an atmosphere of such sparkling softness, that it is easy to sympathise with the

## J A P A N

legend ascribing their origin to crystals dropped from the point of the creator's spear. That they fell from some heaven of generous gods is a theory more consonant with their aspect than the sober fact that they form part of a great ring welded by volcanic energy in the Pacific Ocean, and that still, from time to time, they shudder with uneasy memories of the fiery forces that begot them. Eastern Asia thrusts two long, slender arms into far Oriental waters: Kamtchatka in the north, Malacca in the south; and between these lies a giant girdle of islands holding in its embrace Siam, Cochin China, the Middle Kingdom, Korea and the eastern end of the Great White Czar's dominions, thus extending from latitude 50° north to the equator. When Commodore Perry anchored at Uraga in 1854 the empire of Japan stretched along two fifths of this girdle. Beginning on the south at Cape Sata, the lowest point of the Island of the Nine Provinces (Kyūshū), it ended, on the north, with a disputed fragment of Saghalien and an unsettled number of the attenuated filament of islets called the Kuriles. Since then the empire has been

## THE EMPIRE

pushed ten degrees southward. Now, including the Riukiu (Loochoo) Islands and Formosa, it constitutes three fifths of the girdle—a distance of two thousand miles—and extends over thirty degrees of latitude and thirty-five of longitude. Its expansion has followed the law of geographical affinities,—temporarily transgressed in the case of the United States only, and ultimately to be verified by their history also,—southward the star of empire has taken its way. One loss of territory, however, was suffered by Japan in that interval, perhaps by way of permanent punishment for standing so long aloof from the outer world; she had to surrender to Russia the island of Saghalien—Karafuto, as her people call it. Saghalien forms a kind of territorial link between Japan and Russia. Its northwestern coast almost feels the current of the Amur debouching at Nikolaievsk, and Yezo on its south is within easy rowing distance. Naturally Russians from the Amur region and Japanese from Yezo found their way to the island and pushed forward until their “spheres of influence” overlapped. Complications arose, and



## J A P A N

Japan, then almost powerless for offence or defence in so remote and inhospitable a part of her dominions, found her people harassed and her settlements destroyed by Russian men-of-war. These were not acts of wanton aggression, Russia's ultimate purpose being to establish commercial relations with her neighbour. Perhaps Japan may be excused for hesitating to court the closer acquaintance of a people whom she knew only as incendiaries and raiders. At all events, she hesitated so long that when at last (1875) she made up her mind to settle the question, Saghalien had already been almost entirely colonised by Russian subjects, and its exchange for the northern islands of the inhospitable Kuriles seemed the sole exit from the dilemma. Assuredly this was not a profitable exchange for Japan, but it constituted a fitting sequel to her protracted and invertebrate squabbles with Russia—squabbles that began in 1790, and taught the Japanese to regard the great Northern Power with distrust that recent events have not tended to dispel. Possibly instructed by her Saghalien experience, Japan took care that no other islands of questionable ownership within

## THE EMPIRE

easy reach of her shores should remain a bait to aggressive appetites.

In 1871 she sent a commissioner and a body of colonists to take formal possession of the Bonin group, known to her as Ogasawara-jima, which, though discovered by her mariners nearly two hundred years previously, had not hitherto been included within her sphere of active occupation. But on the south, forming a series of stepping-stones between her territory and Formosa, stretched a cluster of islands not to be so easily dealt with. They were the Riukiu group, called by the outside world the Loo-choo, or Lewchew. Commodore Perry, whose patriotic sentiment often took the form of a desire to acquire "ports of refuge" in the East, strongly urged the United States government to adopt that course with regard to suitable harbours in Riukiu and the Bonins, and it is probable that his suggestion would have been acted on had his mission to Japan provoked any rough reception. But the fate of the Riukiu Islands was not to be so easily settled. Japan, indeed, never permitted herself to doubt that the islands were

## J A P A N

her property. They had long been regarded as an appanage of the Satsuma fief, among whose revenues their yearly taxes were counted. Their people spoke a language having close affinities with that of Japan, and their manners and customs showed an even more marked relationship. But they paid tribute to China, and the latter maintained toward them a demeanour of unpractical proprietorship. Not many years after the centralisation of administrative authority in Japan and the abolition of feudalism, an event occurred that subjected the claims of the two powers to a conclusive test. A Riukiuan junk was cast away upon the coast of Formosa, and the crew were foully murdered by the Formosans. The Japanese government, at once assuming with regard to Riukiu the protective obligations of a sovereign, summoned China to punish her Formosan subjects and compensate the families of the murdered sailors. China resorted to her usual tactics of evasion. Instead of challenging Japan's attitude toward Riukiu, she sought rather to shuffle out of her own responsibility for the doings of the Formosans, so that, after a suffi-

## THE EMPIRE

cient exercise of patience, Japan undertook the punitive duty herself, and sent a military expedition to Formosa to exact reparation *in loco*. This happened in 1874. It was the most suggestive event in Japan's modern history. That she herself interpreted it to mean war with her big neighbour, no one living in the country at the time and observing the shock of patriotic excitement that thrilled the whole nation, could for a moment doubt. Yet Japan was in no sense equipped for such a contest. Her new administration was not yet fully organised; her finances had not emerged from the confusion consequent upon transferring the accounts of the numerous fiefs to one central ledger; her army was still in an embryonic stage; she had virtually no navy, nor any resources of marine transport; her treasury was almost empty, and her credit stood low. Nevertheless she did not shrink from the severest test of her sense of national responsibility, and if the spirit that she displayed was not rightly construed by the world at the time, it was because Western statesmen did not think the subject worthy of careful

## J A P A N

attention. As for the Peking government, they had no fancy for fighting, and when Great Britain stepped in to mediate, China readily agreed to indemnify Japan, provided that she withdrew her expeditionary force from Formosa. But the Riukiu problem had now been carried into the field of practical politics, and its solution threatened to involve an interminable controversy. General Grant, visiting the East in the course of his tour round the world in 1879, found the governments in Tokyo and Peking as far as ever from an understanding. He suggested a partition of the islands in dispute, and Japan readily agreeing, negotiations on that basis were opened in the Chinese capital.

It had not yet been proved by experience that every evidence of a foreign state's willingness to compromise is invariably construed by China as a sign of weakness. When a convention for the division of the islands had been drafted and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two empires, the Chinese government turned around and declared in effect that no plenary powers had been vested in their representative, and that

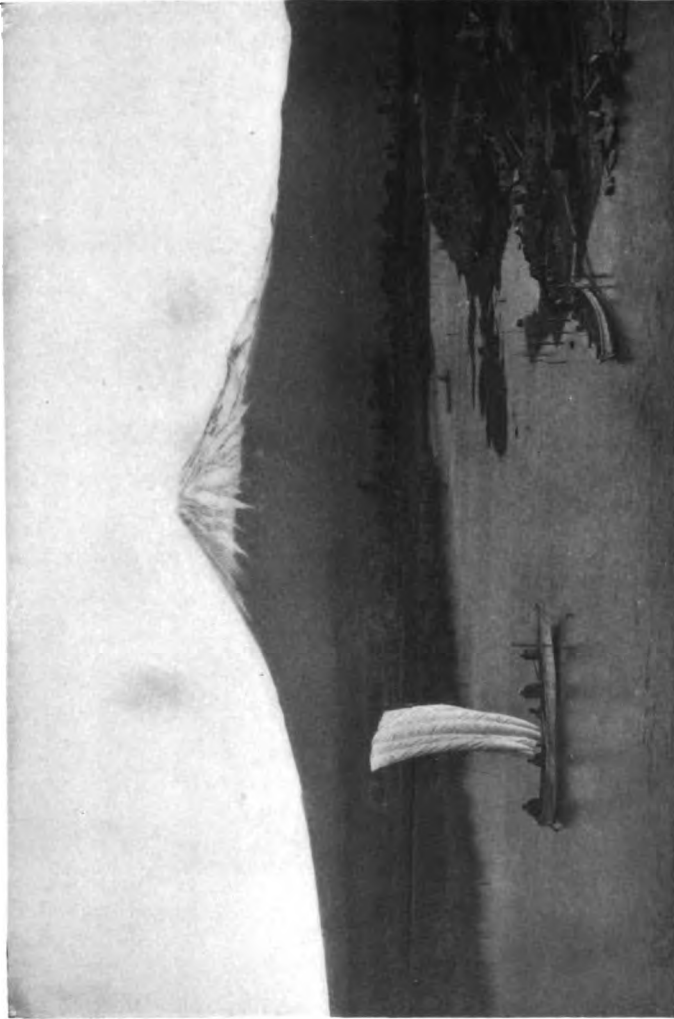


PLATE 100

## JAPAN.

As for the Peking government, they were too far away for fighting, and when Great Britain stepped in to mediate, China readily agreed to indemnify Japan, provided that she withdrew her expeditionary force from Formosa. But the Peking problem had now been carried into the realm of practical politics, and its solution threatened to involve an interminable controversy. General Grant, visiting the East in the course of his tour round the world in 1879, found the governments in Tokyo and Peking as far as ever from an understanding. He suggested a partition of the islands in dispute, and Japan readily agreeing, negotiations on that basis were opened in the Chinese capital.

It had not yet been proved by experience that every evidence of a foreign state's willingness to compromise is invariably construed by China as a sign of weakness. When a convention for the division of the islands had been drafted and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two empires, the Chinese government turned around and declared in effect that no plenary powers were vested in their representative, and that



**FUJIYAMA FROM NUMIGAWA.**





## THE EMPIRE

the document must be submitted for examination and, if need be, amendment at the hands of two other high officials. Thereupon the Japanese plenipotentiary left Pekin, and the Riukiu Islands were finally incorporated into the empire of Japan under the title of Okinawa Prefecture. China pigeon-holed her grievance, but before she found any easy opportunity to air it with effect the Korean question and the war precipitated by it in 1894 dwarfed all previous problems into insignificance. In the sequel of that war, Japan added Formosa and the Pescadores to her dominions, which thus consist now of five large islands and a multitude of islets, the latter scattered along her coasts or grouped into four clusters, the Kuriles (Chi-shima), on the north; the Bonins (Ogasawara-jima), on the east; the Loochoo (Riukiu or Okinawa), on the south, and the Pescadores, off the southwest coast of Formosa. The total area of these islands and islets is 162,000 square miles in round numbers, of which 16,000 square miles have been added since the centralisation of the government in 1867. Taken in order of magnitude, the five principal islands

## J A P A N

are Hondo, or Nippon (86,294 square miles), Yezo (30,000 square miles), Formosa (14,982 square miles), Kyūshū (13,763 square miles) and Shikoku (6,854 square miles). Previously to the acquisition of Formosa, the area of the Japanese empire was equal to that of the British Isles, Holland and Belgium combined. With the addition of Formosa and the Pescadores, it has become approximately equal to the area of the British Isles, Holland, Belgium and Denmark. It is noteworthy that the extension has been wholly southward; whatever diminution has taken place is on the north. The facts that Japan's *début* upon the stage of the world has been the signal for her territorial expansion; that the direction of her growth is southward; that her resources are now, for the first time, in process of rapid development; that her people, fired with national enthusiasm and permeated from highest to lowest with military spirit, entertain one absorbing ambition, to make their country the leading Power in the Orient; that she has shown extraordinary capacity for assimilating whatever is good and serviceable in

## THE EMPIRE

Western civilisation, and that her modern enterprises, though wholly unguided by experience, have in every case been successful—these facts impart vivid interest to the next chapters of her history. There are, indeed, some modifying considerations not without significance. These will be noted in their proper place; but the general situation seems to be summed up in the above statement.

From time immemorial Japan has been tormented by earthquakes. She thrills with volcanic energy. Since the seventh century of our era, destructive visitations of this nature figure with painful perpetuity in her records. They seldom attain the dimensions of a national catastrophe, but at intervals, happily growing longer, terrible destruction of life and property has to be laid to their account. Since the days when all striking exhibitions of natural force were attributed to supernatural agencies, the people of Japan have been accustomed to speak of a gigantic fish that lashes their coasts in moments of fury and sets the ocean rolling shoreward in mountains. There is a measure of truth in this, as in every expres-

## J A P A N

sion of popular observation. For it is from the direction of the sea that the seismic visit generally comes. Pendent from the great chain of volcanoes that stretches from the Kuriles to the Andamans, a heavy loop lies buried in the Pacific off the Izumi promontory on the mideastern coast of the main island. In the craters of this loop are generated the forces that shock Japan with greatest intensity. The islands themselves have few active volcanoes, or "fire-mountains" (*kwazan*), as the people call them. Neither does it appear that the active volcano is greatly to be dreaded as a source of seismic violence. The forces steadily dissipated by its continuous display of energy become dangerous only when, tamped in subterranean mines, they suddenly seek exit upwards along lines of least resistance, the loosely packed tunnels of extinct volcanoes. A vivid illustration of this theory was furnished seventeen years ago by a mountain called Bandaisan. During eleven centuries the volcano had been quiescent. Stalwart forests had crept upwards to the edge of its once steaming crater; villages had been built in the now verdure-clad scars torn by

## THE EMPIRE

its ancient violence, and to a thermal spring bubbling within a stone's throw of the summit, invalids flocked, season after season, thoughtless of any ill greater than their own ailments. But one morning a volcanic mine exploding, without any previous notice, in the bowels of the mountain, tore away its whole northern face and discharged into space seven hundred million tons of rocks and earth, every particle of the colossal deluge rushing forward as though it had been shot from a cannon. Of the appalling results to life and property it is needless to speak: they have been recorded often enough. These resurrections of long deceased volcanoes are the most awful of seismic phenomena. Next to them in destructive suddenness are waves hurled against the shore by submarine volcanoes, playing with towns and hamlets as the storm plays with dead leaves, and strewing long reaches of coast with mangled corpses. Such a wave invaded the north-eastern shore of the main island in June, 1896, just sixty years after the same region had suffered from a similar calamity. Yet there are evidences that Japan is gradually acquiring immunity from

## J A P A N

these calamities. They grow fewer and farther between with the lapse of centuries. Kyoto, for example, used to be notably subject to destructive shocks, but for sixty-five years it has remained comparatively safe. Tokyo's period of security has not been so long—only forty-six years. But during the whole of that time scarcely a dozen habitations have been wrecked by earthquakes. On the other hand, no city in Japan has had such awful experiences. In 1708 thirty-seven thousand of its citizens were crushed under falling houses or choked by huge waves. In 1855 fully twice as many perished, and some seventeen thousand buildings were shattered or burned.

It might be supposed that, living under the menace of such catastrophes, the Japanese people would be tormented by constant apprehension, and that their uneasiness would manifest itself in their daily life. To some extent that is the case. Their dwelling-houses, for example, are always light wooden structures, sufficiently elastic to yield to forces which, if rigidly resisted, would be instantaneously destructive. One result of this necessity is that the higher efforts of architectural

## THE EMPIRE

genius have found in Japan no field for their display. Architectural decoration, indeed, has been carried to great lengths, and a roof curve of singular grace has been evolved. But these beauties are confined to sacred buildings and to the houses of the nobility. A Japanese city is little better than a collection of shanties, and at intervals in the wooden shutters (*amado*, literally, rain-doors) that surround every veranda during the night, hinged panels are inserted to afford easy exit at the first vibration of an earthquake, for the shutters themselves, being slid consecutively into their places and bolted by a somewhat intricate contrivance, cannot be hastily removed.

But apart from these special accommodations, the Japanese seem to take little thought for the perils by which nature has surrounded them. They laughingly catalogue the four most formidable factors of every-day existence as "earthquakes, thunderbolts, fires and fathers" (*jishin*, *kaminari*, *kwaji*, *oyaji*), the classification itself evincing the spirit in which it is made. Probably no people in the world take the goods that the gods send more gleefully or the evils



## J A P A N

more philosophically. It has been calculated that the capital, Tokyo, is laid in ashes once in every quarter of a century; that is to say, the houses destroyed there by fire in twenty-five years aggregate the number comprising the whole city. The steam fire-engine has disturbed that estimate, but it was true once, and it remains a truth to a majority of the citizens. They comprehend its significance. The clanging of the fire-bell night after night, and sometimes time after time in the same night, throughout the winter, means that, in hundreds of cases, competence hardly earned by years of patient industry is converted into penury by the fire-demon in as many minutes. Yet they call fire the "flower of the capital," and ridicule the notion that any one timid of such happenings should reside in the great city. There is no bravado in their mood. They act as they speak. Women and children, seated in a temporary shelter beside the smoking ruins of their homes, begin the day after their misfortune as they began the day that preceded it. Their circumstances have changed, but their duty remains unaltered—to



Digitized by Google

## JAPAN

Joseph Smith. It has been calculated that a single copy of the Book of Mormon is laid in ashes once in four years. It is a necessary; that is to say, the Book of Mormon is destroyed by fire in twenty five years. The number comprising the whole of the population of a fire-engine has disturbed that engine, and it turns the once, and it remains a ruin to the city of the citizens. They compare the confidence. The clanging of the fire-engine is heard at night, and sometimes the fire-engine is heard one night, throughout the whole of the night, in hundreds of cases, compared to the years of patient industry is compared to the fire-demon in as many places. Yet they call fire the "flower of the city," and ridicule the notion that any kind of such happenings should reside in the city. There is no bravado in their city. They act as they speak. Women and children are housed in a temporary shelter beside the ruins of their homes, begin the day as they begin the day as they began the day as they began the day. Their circumstances have not changed. Their day remains unaltered—to



WRECKED BY AN EARTHQUAKE.



## THE EMPIRE

bear their own share of the sorrow without ever intruding their burden upon the notice of others. Yet it is a pitiable thought that the growth of wealth should be retarded by such catastrophes. The earthquake is at the root of the evil. It dictates the use of flame-fuel for building material, thus inviting conflagrations, forbidding architectural effort, denuding the people's homes of all valuables that are not immediately portable, and invading their lives with heart-breaking losses.

During the era of enlightenment that commenced with the abolition of feudalism and the centralisation of the government in 1867 — the *Meiji* era, as it is called — earthquakes were, for the first time, brought within the field of scientific research in Japan. A seismological society was formed, originally at the instance of foreign experts but ultimately under Japanese auspices, and investigations were conducted with much energy and ability.

Summing up the results obtained by long years of effort, we find that the inquiry has not yet emerged from its preliminary stage. The principal achievement has been the construction of seismo-

## J A P A N

graphs capable of accurately registering the direction and force of earth movements. It has been demonstrated practically, as it might have been foretold theoretically, that, to resist the destructive effects of a shock, houses must be built so that the oscillations of all their connected parts shall be synchronous; brick chimneys, for example, not being rigidly attached to wooden roofs of which the inertia is markedly smaller. It has also been shown that a deep trench surrounding an edifice interrupts, and therefore mitigates, the transmission of the seismic force, and that, in the case of a city covering so extended an area as Tokyo, difference of locality produces a palpable difference in the intensity with which an earthquake makes itself felt. Seismic maps of all the principal centres of residence throughout the empire ought, therefore, to be of prime importance for site-selecting purposes. But life is short and the mischievous earthquake a rare visitor. These niceties of contrivance and delicacies of forethought do not commend themselves to the average Japanese. He is content to be guided by the empirical tradition that, as the bending bamboo springs straight after

## THE EMPIRE

the blast, so the light wooden structure that yields a little to the seismic thrust is much more likely to survive than the solid edifice that attempts to rigidly resist an irresistible force. In obedience to that creed his towns and cities have everywhere grown up in almost squalid insignificance. The dwellings of the non-official classes are assemblies of pigmy structures, never relieved by stately façade, lordly portico, or towering steeple. Moreover, unlike the Chinese, no Japanese builder has ever thought of decorating the front of a store or place of business with broad panels of polychrome carvings, or other architectural gewgaws, to invite the ravages of the elements and present, after a few seasons, an aspect of battered dilapidation more suggestive of perishability than even the flimsy edifices themselves. The Japanese loves simplicity. If nature's waywardness has imposed on him the necessity of living in a frail and lowly dwelling, his innate good taste saves him from the solecism of attempting to disguise the unwelcome necessity by incongruous devices. Nothing could be more frankly unpretentious than the clusters of lowly buildings that consti-



## J A P A N

tute his towns, and nothing more striking than the contrast between these structures and the massive edifices that are gradually rising into existence under the impulse of the country's imported civilisation.

' At first, Japan was content to administer her new laws, carry on her new education, and transact the affairs of her newly organised State in wooden buildings either of the old type, or of a hybrid character, cheap, indeed, but shockingly unsightly. Hundreds, nay thousands, of this latter class of building may still be seen in the official capitals of all the provincial communes; rudimentary, rectangular structures, without veranda, balcony, or any projection to break the bald uniformity of their faces. They are the communal schools, or telegraph and post offices, or, it may be, police barracks. No effort has been made to harmonise them with their environment. They disfigure the landscape, and suggest what happily is not true, that the alien systems taught or pursued within their walls have not yet been assimilated into the life of the nation. But in the great cities, especially

## THE EMPIRE

in Tokyo,<sup>1</sup> it is different. There structures worthily representative of the *Meiji* civilisation are rapidly springing up; solid piles of brick and stone, State departments, courts of law, banks, municipal edifices, ministerial residences, hotels, clubs, and so forth. Side by side with these the wooden dwellings and stores of the city proper shrink into still more dwarf-like insignificance, so that it were difficult to find elsewhere a national capital with streets more absolutely devoid of beautiful, stately or dignified features. The citizens, however, are fired with picturesque ambition. Seventeen years ago they devised a magnificent plan of broadened streets, spacious parks and regenerated edifices. The city that was to rise from these projects became known as the "Tokyo of dreamland." It has not yet emerged into the region of reality. Here and there only, the streets have been widened. Whenever one of the frequent conflagrations lays a street in ruins, the new houses are pushed far back from their old sites, with the result that in the poorest quarters,

<sup>1</sup> Area of the prefecture of Tokyo, 749 square miles; population, 1,507,642.

## J A P A N

where fires are most common, some of the streets have now assumed grand proportions. But the houses themselves remain as insignificant as ever, and, of course, since every widening of a thoroughfare ought to be accompanied by a proportionate increase in the dimensions of the buildings that stand on either side of it, the process of Tokyo's so-called "improvement" seems retrogressive from an artistic standpoint.

Kyoto (population, 858,189), the ancient capital, presents in some respects a similar character, though as yet the humility of its architecture has not been so palpably accentuated by contrast with modern structures of overshadowing dimensions. During eleven centuries Kyoto was the seat of Japanese Imperialism ; during three, Tokyo was the stronghold of the Tokugawa Regents. In an Occidental State all the advantages of wealth, size and magnificence might be expected to belong to the Imperial city. But in Japan, while the Emperor governed after a nominal fashion, the Regent, or *Shogun*, as he was called, exercised the whole administrative power ; and whereas the nobles that frequented the Court in

## THE EMPIRE

Kyoto were men of scant incomes and limited influence, the feudal chiefs that took their orders direct from the *Shogun* possessed large wealth and were virtually supreme within the limits of their fiefs. This difference may be read in the features of the two cities.

Throughout the whole of the Western Capital — *Sai-kyo*, or Kyoto, as distinguished from To-kyo, the Eastern Capital — there is not to be found a solitary residence that could be associated, by any stretch of imagination, with opulent ownership. The palace itself is severely simple. Decorative paintings, from the brushes of some great artists, and the finely grained, knotless timbers of which it is built, alone entitle it to be called something better than a mere shelter from the elements. As for the houses of the court nobles — the *Kuge*, every one of whom could trace his descent directly from an occupant of the throne — their structure and environment are eloquent of straitened incomes, if not of actual poverty. It is true that when (794 A.D.) Kyoto was chosen for the Imperial capital, the Emperor ruled as well as gov-

## J A P A N

erned, and the plan of the new metropolis was traced with a grandeur of conception upon which Japanese historians love to descant. The streets were laid out with mathematical precision, a vast network of communications, comprised within a rectangle at the centre of whose northern face stood the Imperial citadel. The Kyoto of that era was undoubtedly a city magnificent according to the standard of its epoch, and that the daily life of its citizens was permeated by a degree of refinement and civilisation unknown in Europe at the time, there are ample evidences to show. But architecturally it had no claim to be called grand, and as conflagration after conflagration laid its Imperial citadel and its streets in ashes, edifices less and less pretentious rose from the ruins. For with the development of feudalism and the decentralisation of the administrative power, wealth flowed from the capital to the provinces, and though the former remained always the centre of whatever was aristocratic, refined or artistic in the realm, the sovereign and his courtiers had to engage in a constant struggle to make ends meet, and the loyalty of

## THE EMPIRE

the citizens constrained them to adapt the dimensions of their residences and the outward fashions of their lives to the lowly examples set by the Emperor and his aristocracy.

In Tokyo, on the other hand, all the puissance and opulence of the empire's real ruler impressed themselves on the official quarter of the city. Round the castle of the *Shogun* a triple line of huge fosses stretched, the outermost measuring nine and a half miles in length, the innermost one and a half, their scarps built up with colossal blocks of granite, carried hundreds of miles over sea and set in place by labour-employing contrivances that must have been primitive at so remote an epoch,—the beginning of the seventeenth century,—but were yet capable of achieving results wonderful to contemplate even to-day. Above these grand masses of masonry were piled great banks of earth, their slopes turfed with fine Korean grass, and their summits planted with pine trees, trained year after year to stretch ever-green arms towards the spacious moats, varying in width from one hundred and seventy yards to twenty-two, through which flowed broad sheets

## J A P A N

of water, reaching the city by cunningly planned aqueducts from a river twenty miles distant. There is not to be found elsewhere in the world a more stupendous monument of military power, and if any one considering such a work, as well as its immediate predecessor, the equally colossal stronghold of the great *Taiko*, in Osaka, and its numerous contemporaries of lesser but still striking proportions in the principal fiefs, refuses to credit the Japanese mind with capacity for mighty conceptions, and the Japanese brain with competence to plan and carry out great undertakings, he must be either prejudiced or deficient in the deductive faculty.

In this cyclopean fortress of Tokyo there is also to be seen the unswerving homage to the beautiful that holds every Japanese a worshipper at nature's shrine, even when he seems to rely most implicitly on his own resources of brain and muscle. Placid lakes lapping the feet of stupendous battlements; noble pines bending over their own graceful reflection in still waters; long stretches of velvety sward making a perpetual presence of rustic freshness among the dust and

## THE EMPIRE

moil of city life; flocks of soft-plumaged wild fowl placidly sailing in the moats or sunning themselves on the banks, careless of the tumult and din of the streets overhead; sheets of lotus bloom glowing in the shadow of grim counter-scarps—where but in Japan can we find so deliberate and so successful an effort to convert the frowns of a fortress into the smiles of a garden? This castle of the Tokugawa Regents is a portion of the alphabet by which we may read Japanese character. Hidden beneath a passion for everything graceful and refined there is a strong yearning for the pageant of war and for the dash of deadly onset; and just as the Shogun sought to display before the eyes of the citizens of his capital a charming picture of gentle peace, though its setting was a framework of vast military preparation, so the Japanese of every era has loved to turn from the fencing-school to the harbour, from the field of battle to the society of the rockery and the cascade, delighting in the perils and struggles of the one as much as he admires the graces and repose of the other.

In another manner, also, feudalism left its im-



## J A P A N

press upon the eastern capital of the empire, for, in order to insure the allegiance of the great provincial barons, they were required to reside in Tokyo—or Yedo, as it was then called—every second year; and when, in obedience to this order, each chieftain began to build for himself, his family and his army of retainers an urban residence and a suburban, there sprang up a constructive rivalry that soon enriched the city and its environs with a great number of picturesque parks and spacious mansions. The average citizen, indeed, saw little of the beauty of these places; there was no access for him within their walled and carefully guarded enclosures. But during the two and a half centuries of their existence Tokyo was a veritable city of gardens, all laid out with consummate skill and tended with loving care. The labour expended upon this work must have been enormous. Every rock—and the Japanese landscape-gardener uses a profusion of rocks—rocks for the margins of lakes; rocks for the beds of cascades; rocks to push their shoulders from hill and shrubbery, and rocks to form paths across par-

## THE EMPIRE

terres — every rock had to be brought by ship from distant provinces. They were no mere boulders that two or three men might lift, but portly masses of stone, weighing, sometimes, tens of tons, and having to be dragged to their ornamental resting-places by hundreds of shouting coolies and teams of straining oxen.

Inside these parks, created at such a lavish outlay of care and cost, stood houses that were miracles of the joiner's skill and the lumberman's craft, where the representatives of military feudalism lived lives of refined indulgence, amid works of art, transitions of flowery seasons, rustlings of silken robes, contests of rhythmical conceits, and, sometimes, shocking catastrophes. No element of war or arms seemed to obtrude itself into the luxurious languor of their existence, except that, flanking the great gate of the *yashiki* and stretching occasionally around three sides of the enclosure, stood long, low buildings, their outward faces pierced at rare intervals by strongly barred windows, and the chief article of furniture in all their rooms a sword-rack. These *naga-ya* were the barracks

## J A P A N

of each baron's men-at-arms, and up to the fall of feudalism so many streets were bordered by edifices of that ominous type, and such a multitude of their inmates were to be met striding along, a pair of razor-edged swords in their girdles and the pride of arms in their mien, that for all the pretty parks and dainty mansions of the nobles, for all the disguise of soft sward and tender-sprayed pines that overlay the grimness of the central castle's battlements, Tokyo could never be mistaken for anything but what it was, the citadel of a military system embracing all the warlike resources of a battle-loving nation.

At the restoration of 1867, when the Tokugawa Regents were stripped of their power, when feudalism was abolished, and the Emperor resumed the administration of State affairs, an era of destruction set in. Stripped of their revenues and no longer required to reside in the capital, the majority of the barons left their Tokyo residences to be sold or dismantled, and among the men that had planned and were now directing these great political changes none had leisure or means to think of acquiring man-

## THE EMPIRE

sions and parks such as only wealthy nobles could be justified in maintaining. With a few exceptions the parks disappeared. Denuded of everything salable,—rocks, shrubs, timber,—their buildings burned or pulled to pieces, their enclosing walls levelled with the ground, they became simply so many vacant spaces, breaking the continuity of the city and imparting to it an aspect of unsightly irregularity.

It will be seen from what has been written here that in ancient as well as in modern times two Tokyos have to be distinguished—official Tokyo and commercial Tokyo. It is to the latter, or Tokyo proper, that reference is made when the buildings are described as insignificant and almost squalid, their general aspect suggesting a state of poverty and business stagnation in strange contrast with the cheerful faces, comfortable garments and easy-going ways of the citizens. This dual nature of the capital is a true reflection of the nation's social structure in former times, and to a lesser but still considerable degree in the present era. The Japanese have always been divided into two distinct

## J A P A N

classes, — patricians, *shizoku*, or the military class, as they are commonly called; and commoners, *heimin*, or ordinary folks; the numerical ratio between them being as one to twelve approximately. The patricians had a monopoly of the administrative and military power; the commoners had only to till the soil, take fish out of the seas and rivers, and conduct the vulgar operations of trade and barter. From the pageant of war, from the sweets of office, from the pride of rank, from the arena of intellectual competition, the *heimin* were completely excluded. Their lives were as subordinate to those of the *shizoku* as their lowly dwellings were overshadowed by the latter's massive castles. This gulf of separation was not always so wide. Its dimensions grew with the development of military feudalism, and its growth is accurately represented in the leading features of the two capitals.

When Kyoto became the metropolis of the empire, distinctions of caste had not yet been sharply accentuated by the supremacy of the sword. The mass of the people still lived close

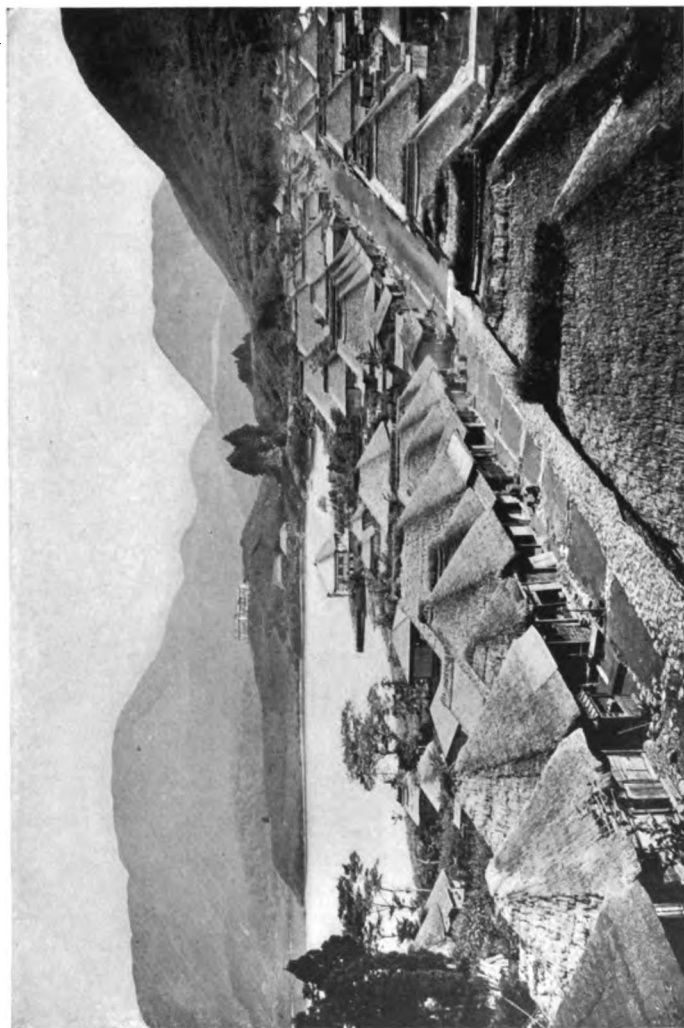


1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

## JAPAN

the *warriors*, *warriors*, or the military class, the *peasants*, commonly called; and commoners, the *artisans* or *artisans* folks; the numerical ratio of them being as one to twelve approximately. The patricians had a monopoly of the administrative and military power; the commoners had only to till the soil, take fish out of the seas and rivers, and conduct the vulgar operations of trade and basket. From the pageant of war, from the sweets of office, from the pride of rank, from the arena of intellectual competition, the *peasants* were completely excluded. Their lives were as subordinate to those of the *warriors* as their lovely dwellings were overshadowed by the latter's massive castles. This gulf of separation was not always so wide, but divisions grew with the development of feudalism, and its growth is accurately represented in the leading features of the two classes.

When Kyoto became the metropolis of the empire, distinctions of caste had not yet been accentuated by the supremacy of the military class. The mass of the people still lived close



IIAKONE LAKE AND VILLAGE, WITH THE EMPEROR'S PALACE IN THE DISTANCE.





## THE EMPIRE

to their sovereign, figuratively speaking, and strategical considerations did not imperatively limit the choice of sites for the Imperial capital. There was virtual freedom of selection, except that custom had long dictated separate residences for the Emperor and the Heir Apparent—a custom common in Occidental countries, and still observed in Japan, with this modification, however, that whereas the sovereign and his apparent successor now reside in the same city, the rule formerly was to choose wholly different localities. Of course it resulted that there grew up about the palace of the prince material interests and moral associations opposed to a change of habitation, and thus, on his accession to the throne, he usually transferred the capital of the empire from the place occupied by his predecessor to the site of his own palace. In addition to this source of frequent change, it happened occasionally that the residence of the Imperial Court, and therefore the capital of the empire, was moved from one place to another twice or even thrice during the same reign, the only limit set to all these shiftings being that the five adjacent provinces

## J A P A N

occupying the waste of the main island, and known as "Gokinai," were regarded as possessing some prescriptive title to contain the seat of government, Yamato being especially honoured in that respect. A long list might be compiled of places distinguished by Imperial residence during the early centuries, notable among them being Kashiwara, the capital of the Emperor Jimmu ; Naniwa (now Osaka), that of the Emperor Nintoku ; Otsu, that of the Emperor Tenchi ; and Fujiwara, that of the Emperor Temmu. It must be noted, however, that in those ages of comparative simplicity and frugality the seat of government was not invested with attributes of pomp and grandeur such as the haughtier conceptions of later generations prescribed. The sovereign's mode of life differed little from that of his subjects, and the transfer of his residence from place to place involved no costly or disturbing effect. But as civilisation progressed ; as the population grew ; as the business of administration became more complicated ; as increasing intercourse with China furnished new standards for measuring the interval between ruler and ruled, and, above all,

## THE EMPIRE

as class distinctions acquired emphasis, the character of the palace assumed magnificence proportionate to the Imperial ceremonies and national receptions that had to be held there.

It is not easy to trace the gradual stages of this development, but it had certainly proceeded far by the beginning of the eighth century, for the capital then established at Nara by the Empress Gemmyo was on a scale of unprecedented magnitude and splendour. A lady's name is fitly associated with this first payment of large tribute to outward appearances. Seven sovereigns reigned at Nara consecutively. They were held there from generation to generation partly by the environment they themselves created, and partly, no doubt, by a perception of the advantages accruing from a thorough centralisation of the governing power. But when the Emperor Kwammu (782-805 A.D.) ascended the throne, he found that Nara was not conveniently situated for administrative purposes, and after some uncertainty he finally selected Uda, in Yamashiro province, and took steps to transfer his Court thither. The event was invested with much cere-

## J A P A N

mony, and was regarded as a subject of national rejoicing, the people calling the capital *Heian-jo*, or the "citadel of tranquillity." This is the modern Kyoto. It continued to be the Imperial capital during a period of 1,074 years, though not the seat of administrative authority; for from the establishment of military feudalism in the twelfth century until its abolition in the sequel of the *Meiji* Restoration (1867) the sovereign ruled in name only, the executive power being wielded in reality by a military regent who had his own capital elsewhere.

Seventy-seven Emperors held their courts successively in Kyoto, with diminishing pomp and pageant as the centuries rolled by, but never with any diminution of the sanctity attributed to them by their subjects. During an interval so protracted, the city, of course, underwent many changes, but to this day its general plan remains on the lines of its earliest projection. It was built after the scheme of Nara, with modifications borrowed from the metropolis of the Tang dynasty in China. The outline was rectangular, 17,580 feet from north to south, and 15,080 feet

## THE EMPIRE

from east to west. Moats and palisades surrounded the whole,—the system of crenelated walls and flanking towers not having been yet introduced,—and the Imperial palace, its citadel, administrative departments and assembly halls occupied the centre of the northern portion. The palace was approached from the south, its main gate (*Shujaku-mon*) opening upon a long street 280 feet wide (called *Shujaku-oji*, or the Shujaku thoroughfare) which ran right down the centre of the city, terminating at the *Rojo* gate. The city was thus divided into two equal parts of which the eastern was designated *Sakyo*, or “left metropolis,” and the western *Ukyo*, or “right metropolis.”

The superficial division was into districts (*jo*), of which there were nine, all equal in size except those on the east and west of the palace. An elaborate system of subdivision was adopted. The unit or *ko* (house) was a space meaning 100 feet by 50. Eight of these units made a row (*gyo*); four rows, a street (*cho*); four streets, a division (*bo*); four divisions, a square (*ho*); and four squares, a district (*jo*). The entire capital

## J A P A N

contained 1,216 *cho* and 88,912 houses. The arrangement of the streets was strictly regular. They lay parallel and at right angles, like the lines on a checkerboard. The Imperial citadel measured 3,840 feet from east to west, and 4,600 feet from north to south. On each side were three gates; in the middle stood the palace, surrounded by the buildings of the various administrative departments, and in front were the assembly and audience halls. The nine districts were divided from each other by streets, varying in width from 170 feet to 80 feet. They intersected the city from east to west; were numbered from 1 to 9, as *ichi-jo*, *ni-jo*, *san-jo*, and so on—names retained until this day—and were themselves intersected in turn by similar streets running north and south, and by lanes at regular intervals. The buildings, as has been already stated, were lowly and insignificant. Even in the case of the palace the architects observed the austere canons of the *Shinto* cult, which prescribed purity and simplicity as the essential attributes of refinement; and in the case of the citizens' dwellings every effort to obtain lightness,

## THE EMPIRE

airiness or ornamentation was reserved for chambers opening upon inner courts, or looking out on miniature back gardens, so that the front effect was sombre and monotonous. Many of the houses were roofed with shingles, but some had slate-coloured tiles, and the palace itself was rendered conspicuous by green glazed tiles imported from China. The conception of such a city at such an epoch — half a century before Lodbrok, the Dane, sailed up the Seine, and fifty-five years before the birth of Alfred the Great — bears eloquent testimony to the highly civilised condition of Japan and to the Emperor Kwammu's greatness of mind and resources. But the general plan of the capital teaches another lesson also: it shows that the residences of the people received as much consideration as the twenty-two edifices comprised within the palace enclosure. Kyoto, in short, was the metropolis of the nation, not the central citadel of a military administration.

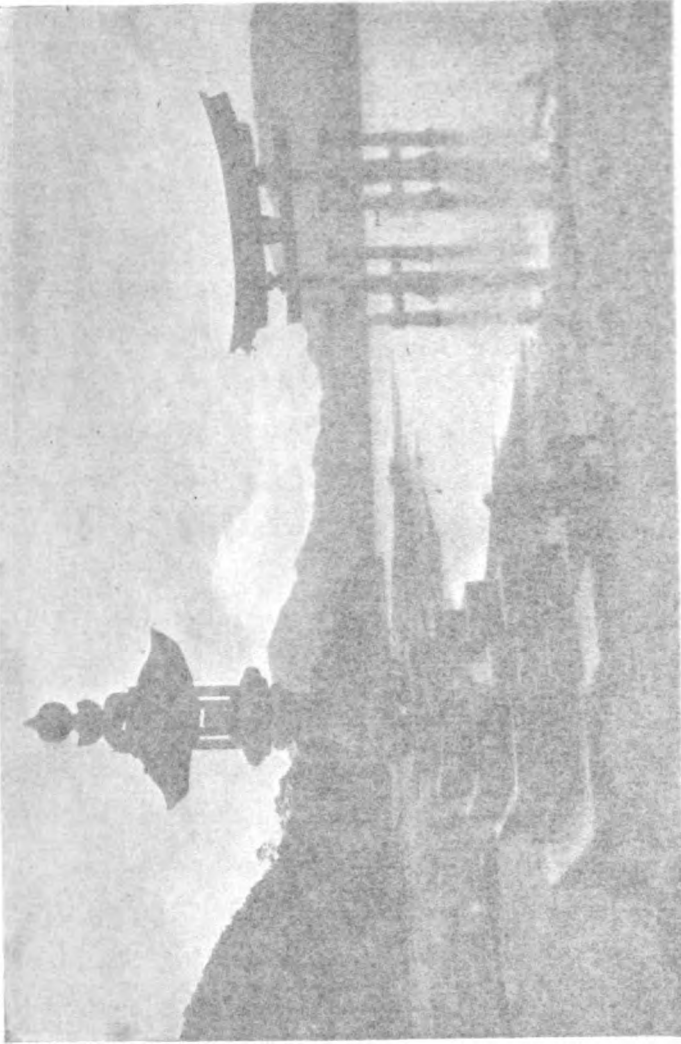
Tokyo's history is totally dissimilar. It was originally a mere fortress. The great natural fastness of Japan lies between a range of mountains of which Fujiyama is the crown, and a



## J A P A N

network of rivers, of which the principal is the Tonegawa. Within this fastness the military regents established themselves. At first they were content to hold the passes of the mountains against possible attacks from the south. Their capital was then Odawara, a seashore city lying inside the fastness and at the base of the mountains. By and by, however, it became necessary to guard the river front also, and the first captain to whom that duty was intrusted, Ota Dokan, made Yedo his headquarters and constructed there a fortress destined to be subsequently converted into the magnificent military stronghold described above. This happened in the middle of the fifteenth century. There were no evidences then of the place's future greatness: a few fishermen's hamlets, an immense reedy plain, excellently suited for deploying troops, and a sweep of great rivers easy to hold against an enemy, these were the features that Ota found. Planning his fortress, he took no thought whatever for the people of the district.

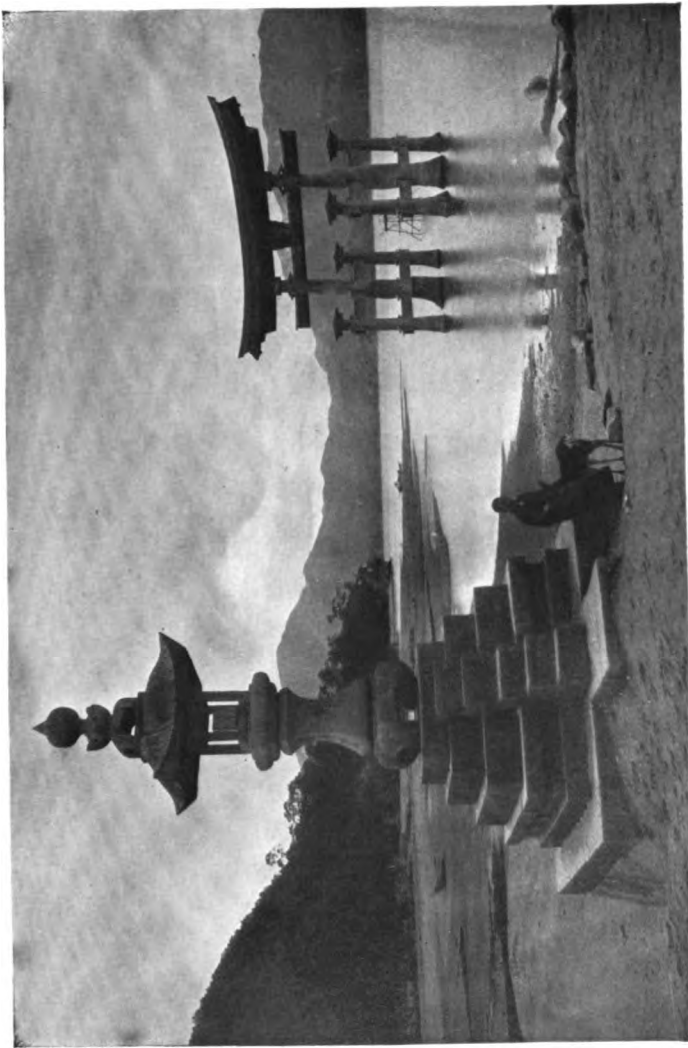
Nearly a century and a half later (1590 A.D.),



## JAPAN

network of rivers, of which the principal is the Tone river. Within this fastness the military rulers established themselves. At first they were content to hold the passes of the mountains against possible attacks from the south. Their capital was then Odawara, a seashore city lying inside the fastness and at the base of the mountains. By and by, however, it became necessary to guard the river front also, and the first captain to whom that duty was intrusted, Ota Doka, made Yedo his headquarters and constructed there a fortress destined to be subsequently converted into the magnificent military stronghold described above. This happened in the middle of the fifteenth century. There were no evidences then of the place's future greatness: a few fishermen's hamlets, an immense empty plain, excellently suited for deploying troops, and a sweep of great rivers easy to defend against an enemy, these were the features Ota found. Planning his fortress, he took no thought whatever for the people of the place.

Nearly a century and a half later (1590 A.D.),



TORII AT MIYAJIMA.



## THE EMPIRE

Ieyasu, the first of the Tokugawa Regents, in obedience to the order of the *Taiko*, made Yedo the capital of the eight provinces bestowed on him by that most illustrious of Japan's generals and statesmen. But in the eyes of Ieyasu also the place was nothing more than a military citadel. The colossal fortress erected by him covered all the best building sites, and had not the sea been gradually pushed back by the detritus of the three big rivers on the north, a city of a million inhabitants could never have grown up at the foot of the Regent's huge fosses and under the shadow of his giant battlements. The castle has now become a mere residence; its massive gates removed, its tall flanking towers levelled with the ground; the barracks of its men-at-arms replaced by sward and shrubbery. But simultaneously with the disappearance of these evidences of military supremacy, officialdom has reasserted the dominance of the *shizoku* by erecting for itself buildings that contrast almost as strikingly with the dwellings of the *heimin* as the Tokugawa stronghold contrasted with the humble city lying at its feet. That

## J A P A N

distinction recognised — it can hardly be called a difference — Tokyo is seen to reflect faithfully the political changes that Japan has undergone since mediæval times : the transition from administration by the Emperor to administration by representatives of military feudalism, and the transfer of the latter's power to a *shizoku* hegemony, which made modern Japan, but still stands high above the mass of the nation it leads and governs. Kyoto, on the other hand, remains the capital of ancient Japan ; its appearance typical of the quiet old times when rulers and ruled were as one family, and essentially typical of the genuine spirit of Japanese civilisation, refinement without ostentation. It is true that gorgeous and imposing Buddhist temples confer exceptional distinction on the city. But these are, in a sense, exotics, owing their magnificence of paraphernalia and wealth of decoration to the country where the creed was born. Everywhere the houses of the citizens present a modest though thoroughly neat appearance, their rusticity suggesting few graces of life until one passes within and finds that the humblest of

## THE EMPIRE

these dwellings looks out at the back on a tiny park, with miniature waterfalls, toy hills and dwarf forests, and that, although the tide of industrial progress, with its grime and din, has not left this ancient city entirely uninvaded, the potter or enameller may still be seen decorating his vases or building up his subtle tracery of many-hued designs while the flowers and leaves that he copies look in at him through the windows of his workshop. To see in clear outlines the influence that has been exercised upon the life of the *heimin* by the advent of the new civilisation that worships at the shrine of mammon, it is necessary to go to Osaka,<sup>1</sup> now the commercial capital of Japan. There the whole city is pervaded by an atmosphere of business, and gradually the movements of the citizens begin to betray the anxious haste of trading communities in the Occident. There has been a great growth of population, a great extension of the streets, a great access of wealth. But the prominent development seems to have been in the direction of factory chimneys. A thousand of

<sup>1</sup> Area of the prefecture of Osaka, 689 square miles ; population of the city, 821,235.



## J A P A N

these unsightly erections now look down upon a city where, a quarter of a century ago, not even one was to be seen; a canopy of smuts and smoke begins to replace the crystalline purity of the old-time atmosphere, and the sobbing of the steam-engine invades the laughter of the light-hearted citizens. Officialdom is absolutely unobtrusive, and the reservoir of the city's water-works marks the site of Hideyoshi's feudal fortress.

One feature common, though not in an equal degree, to all Japanese towns is the absence of any dazzling display of wares in shop-fronts. That part of the vender's art remains little developed, doubtless because trade, having always been despised as the meanest of bread-earning professions, shrank from thrusting its evidences upon public notice. In Kyoto some of the largest and wealthiest stores are distinguishable only by the air of bustle that pervades their precincts, and even that used to be hidden from the aristocratic customer, who found himself ushered into a quiet chamber, opening upon shrubberies and rockeries, and with the most unbusiness-like aspect conceivable. These things

## THE EMPIRE

have changed somewhat with the times, but there is still implicit obedience to the old canon that prescribes sobriety of exterior as an essential of good taste. Just as in a work of art the genuine Japanese artist seeks to supply details of decoration and technique that become visible only on close examination, so the Kyoto citizen builds his store in such a manner that whatever it contains of the admirable or the attractive becomes visible only on passing within. The visitor is astonished to find that a building seeming to consist altogether of a few weather-beaten boards and gloomy lattices forms the front of a spacious compound, within which are fireproof warehouses, neat and tasteful chambers, charming gardens, and show-rooms where a wealth of fine wares are arranged with excellent taste and skilful business instinct.

In Tokyo the methods of the tradesman are less consistent with the traditions of artistic modesty. The science of display without ostentation is not so well understood. It is true that the dealer keeps his choicest specimens and most valuable stock packed away in a fireproof "go-

## J A P A N

down," whence he will not take the trouble to fetch anything specially fine or rare unless he diagnoses something of the connoisseur in his customer. Therein, however, his concession is not to good taste but to caution. As a matter of choice, he would prefer to marshal attractions in such a manner as to capture public attention, but whatever be the measure of his will, the results he obtains look wholly contemptible compared with the arrays of interesting and costly objects that deck the windows of an American or European store. It may seem, indeed, that the fault lies primarily with the shops, which, being sombre and of petty dimensions, cannot be easily adapted to exhibition purposes. But that is a feature rather than a cause. The whole art of inviting custom by appeals to the eye remains undeveloped in Japan, partly because it is opposed to the genius of the people, and partly because the low status of the merchant has hitherto condemned trade to a hole-and-corner existence. It is beginning now to raise its head, but long years must elapse before a Japanese city shows anything of the

## THE EMPIRE

commercial glitter that characterises an Occidental mart.

It does not fall within the scope of this work to speak at any length of the scenery of Japan. Innumerable writers have already descanted upon the beauties of the much-favoured islands of the far Pacific, and so much eloquence has been devoted to describing their natural charms, that the reality can scarcely fail to disappoint any estimate founded on these panegyrics. Perhaps the most salient characteristic of the country is that its natural features remain, in great part, undisturbed by the hand of man. The Japanese are industrious and frugal. Theirs is not a land where the necessities of life can be obtained without a struggle. Rice, the great staple of their food, is a cereal the cultivation of which involves toil of the hardest and least inviting description. Wherever an opportunity offers to enlist the bounty of nature it is eagerly utilised. Sailing through the Inland Sea, famous among all ocean inlets for the charms of its surroundings, one sees that every little spot of arable soil, whether on rocky island or steep hillside, has

## J A P A N

been attacked by the mattock of the indefatigable peasant, and that every cove shelters a hamlet whose inhabitants snatch a precarious living from sea and soil. Yet, despite these evidences of agricultural earnestness, it is a fact that eighty-eight parts out of every hundred of the superficies of these nominally much-favoured islands yield no food to the people.

It is true that the cultivated area expands year by year, and that the expansion will probably continue as railways, roads and steamships bring new districts within reach of markets. But in this matter the responsibility rests not with the paucity of communications so much as with natural conditions. The state of soil that exists at the sites of some of the chief cities finds a parallel throughout the country at large. Just as the ashes and shards of repeated conflagrations have accumulated in the former case until the real subsoil is beyond profitable reach, so in the latter, volcanoes, bursting through the primitive rocks, have buried wide areas under deep shrouds of pumice, so that hill slopes and plains which ought to contribute generally to the



the people are in a state of the indefatigable search for a place where they can shelter, and the conditions are such a precarious living as to be almost insupportable. Yet, despite these evils, and the fact, moreover, that it is a fact that one out of every hundred of the population of even the most favoured islands is a slave, the people are not discouraged.

One of the chief causes of the expansion of the cultivated area depends upon the fact that the expansion will probably be made by a very rapid and strong increase in the number of markets. But the responsibility rests not with the government, so much as with the people themselves. The state of soil that exists in the neighbourhood of the chief cities finds a parallel in the country at large. Just as the islands and lands of repeated conflagration have been noted in the former case, so in the latter case, if the soil is beyond profitable reach, so in the former case, the bursting through the primeval forest, have led wide areas under deep cover of parakeet, so that the slopes and plains are left to contribute generally to the [18]



A COUNTRY ROAD.





## THE EMPIRE

nation's sustenance, are not capable of nourishing anything better than bamboo-grass and stunted scrub. But if these volcanoes have impaired the productive qualities of the land, they have immensely enhanced its scenic beauties. The term volcano conveys, under ordinary circumstances, a suggestion of destruction, desolation, nakedness and disruption. Such features are not presented by the Japanese volcano. It is usually a mountain of soft contours, placid aspect and tender verdure. For, if nature created it in a hurry, she hastens also to subject it to climatic influences that rob it of all ruggedness and clothe it with abundant vegetation. In central Japan the traveller may find scenic sights of grandeur and wildness on an Alpine scale. But elsewhere the scenery is essentially gentle—green valleys lying nestled in the arms of softly sloping hills, groves of feathery bamboo and billow-boughed pines, fantastically indented seacoasts, where the waves seldom raise their voices above a whisper, an atmosphere of exquisite opalescence, and brooding over all a perpetual stillness that seems to be deepened rather than disturbed by the occasional

## J A P A N

note of sweet-toned temple bells. With such scenery one does not fall in love at first sight. Familiarity endears it. The newcomer must be disappointed if he looks to find at once everything that he has been taught to expect. But he may rest assured that at the last there will remain imprinted on his recollection a picture of satisfying beauty, although its components are not separately striking or its colours brilliant.

There are, indeed, two great wants, the glow of flowers and the song of birds. So conspicuously do flowers figure in Japanese decorative art, and so much has been written about the cherry-blossom and plum-blossom picnics of the people, about their flower symbols of the four seasons, their chrysanthemums, their peonies, their irises, and their wistaria, that their country presents itself to the imagination as a veritable garden of Hesperia, brilliant, beautiful and fragrant. But in truth the great value attached to flowers in Japan is due, not to their profusion, but to their paucity. There are no pastures dewed with daisies and starred with buttercup, dandelion and cowslip; no glades carpeted with

## THE EMPIRE

bluebells ; no golden plains of orange-scented gorse ; no groves of laburnum and lilac ; no fields of glowing poppies. With the exception of the azalea, not a single flowering shrub or plant is sufficiently gregarious to offer a wide expanse of blossom, and the azalea has its own favourite haunts, not here, there and everywhere, but only in special localities, few and far between. Nor is the bloom of the much-vaunted cherry and plum richer or more abundant in Japan than in the Occident. An American or English orchard displays in early summer a glory of blossom not to be surpassed by anything in the far East. The difference is this : that the cherry and plum, as fruits, being comparatively worthless in Japan, the flowers alone are prized, and great groves of trees are planted in places of popular resort for the sake of the grand but transient glow that they make in their season of bloom. Were the fruit valuable, the Japanese cultivator is far too practical to sacrifice it to display. His treatment of the pear proves this. The Japanese pear is a miserable fruit to Western palates : it is without succulence or flavour ; a superior kind of turnip.

## J A P A N

It certainly possesses no merits that entitle it to careful culture. But every one eats it in Japan, and at every wayside stall it figures conspicuously among the autumn edibles. Therefore its flower is little accounted, but the tree itself is guarded in orchards, and thither visitors go when the pears are ripening, not when the flowers are in bloom. Yet a Japanese pear orchard presents a magnificent spectacle in May. Thousands of trees are planted at equal intervals, their boughs trained so as to spread laterally along a trellis of uniform height.

Sometimes, as in the case of the Kawasaki orchard, midway between Tokyo and Yokohama, this trellis covers an area of many acres, and looking down on it in the blooming season, one sees a spread of blossom at once grand and lovely. Such sights would certainly be included among the holiday delights of the nation were there no question of saving the flowers for the sake of the fruit. It is more than probable that in the Occident, also, if the plum, the cherry, the apple and the pear were not so pleasant to the palate, the trees that bear these fruits would

## THE EMPIRE

obtain a new vogue on account of their flowers; would figure conspicuously in gardens instead of being relegated to orchards, and would be massed so as to form profuse glories of bloom in park and landscape. Thus we are reduced to the prosaic reflection that a very practical element lies at the root of the Japanese people's apparent worship of blossoms elsewhere counted commonplace: deprived of the fruit, they compensate themselves by making much of the flower. Still the fact remains that no other nation is so thoroughly permeated with the love of flowers. It is curious to observe the almost intuitive recognition that this phase of the national disposition receives from comparative strangers. Fresh from the society of a treaty-port community, where he has been instructed to regard every Japanese as an inferior being, an object of tolerance at best, the traveller from Europe or America, nevertheless, finds himself asking his *jīnrikisha*-drawer or his baggage-carrier to identify some wayside flower new to alien eyes. It does not occur to him that a parallel act in his own country would be to consult a cab-driver about ornithological

## J A P A N

terms or a railway porter about scenic beauties. Yet in Japan the query is generally justified by a correct answer. The rag-man, the scavenger, the charcoal-burner, the maid-of-all-work devote some of the spare moments of their unlovely lives to the courtship of flowers, and are more than pleased to communicate the knowledge thus acquired, which is sometimes very considerable.

One expects to find that a people of such tastes have carried to a high point of development the art of rural existence; that from end to end their land is dotted with picturesque dwellings standing among bright blossoms and many-tinted foliage. There is nothing of the kind. If we except the suburban residences of the aristocrats of old times and the plutocrats of modern, no evidence appears to show that life outside the cities has any special charms for the Japanese, or that they appreciate the delights of what is known in the West as a "country house." The big farmers — who, it should be noted, were not originally owners but only tenants of the land they tilled — did occa-

## THE EMPIRE

sionally surround themselves with some of the accessories always desired under similar circumstances in the West. But it cannot be said that they ever thought of having mansions, parks, lakes or groves in the Occidental sense of the terms. There were, in fact, no great estates that could be alienated at will or handed down from father to son through long generations. The farmer's house remained a farmer's house, and never assumed the aspect of a wealthy landowner's home. Security of tenure existed as a matter of practice, though not as a matter of right. The feudal chief, whose fief was in effect an heirloom so long as his arm was strong and so long as he neither failed in the duties of vassalage nor incited hostile intrigue by immoral excesses, appreciated the advantage of leaving his tenants undisturbed from generation to generation. Not fear of ejectment, therefore, prevented the farmer from devoting a part of his land to landscape gardening or flower culture on an extended scale. The deterrents were a practical consideration that his holding was taxed in the full ratio of its productive capacity,



## J A P A N

and a sentimental principle that, after all, he was only a farmer. It is not in the genius of the Japanese that a man should simulate a station not belonging to him or endeavour to seem what he is not. There are trifling exceptions to the wholesome rule. Many women, for example, and some men dye their hair. Tens of thousands of boxes of a peculiarly convenient powder, an import from the omnipotent West, are sent out yearly from the cities to the provinces, and many decoctions from the leaf of a shrub possessing similar properties used to simmer once a month on braziers in the days of Japan's seclusion, and continue to simmer in rarer instances to-day. Yet there is not a user of the vulgar powder or of the more costly paste that will profess an age even one year below the truth. The physical concealment of time's touches is purely objective; a concession to appearances. Sanemori blackened his hair, nine centuries ago, lest young men should hesitate to cross swords with him in battle.

If Japanese women of this nineteenth century sometimes hide premature streaks of silver, it



A FATTY OLD MAN.

... after all, he  
 ... on the genius of  
 ... should simulate a  
 ... or endeavour to  
 ... are trifling excep-  
 ... Many women, for  
 ... eye their hair. Teis  
 ... of a peculiarly convenient  
 ... in the omnipotent West.  
 ... from the cities to the  
 ... decoctions from the leaf  
 ... similar properties used to  
 ... on braziers in the days  
 ... and continue to simmer in  
 ... today. Yet there is not a user  
 ... powder or of the more costly  
 ... it will profess an age even one year  
 ... the truth. The physical concealment of  
 ... is purely objective; a concession  
 ... appearances. Samamori blackened his hair,  
 ... centuries ago, lest young men should hesi-  
 ... swords with him in battle.

If Japanese women of this nineteenth century  
 sometimes hide premature streaks of silver, it



**A TATTOOED MAN.**



## THE EMPIRE

is because such things obtrude unpleasantly upon the observation of friends and acquaintances. If Japanese men occasionally do the same, it is through fear of being set aside as incapacitated for active employment. But neither man nor woman perpetrates the shocking solecism of arraying age in the garments of youth. A spinster aping the show and the simper of girlhood has no representative in Japan. So, too, the farmer lives outwardly the life of a farmer; the merchant, that of a merchant; the artisan, that of an artisan. Merely to be wealthy does not—or, at any rate, did not in former times—confer a title to assume the recognised environment of wealth. Hence the castle of the feudal chief, with its generally spacious and always artistically designed park, was the only evidence of opulent and refined life in provincial districts until foreigners came and set the example of erecting, at sites remote from places of business, houses entirely unsuggestive of their occupants' employment, or designed solely for the enjoyment of scenic and seaside pleasures. The fashion appealed at

## J A P A N

once to the fancy of the Japanese. They wondered that its advantages had not occurred to them before, and to possess a *besso* in the hills or on the coast soon became a mark of independent fortune. But these buildings are, without exception, unpretentious. Mere temporary residences, their appearance is in conformity with their subordinate uses. Besides, they are still comparatively few. For the bulk of the people there continues to be only one ideal of holiday or rural existence—life at a spa.

The land abounds with thermal springs. Many of them well up among delightful scenery, and about their healing waters picturesque villages have gradually been built, assemblages of inns, where accommodation fitted for all ranks and adapted to all incomes can be obtained. This absence of every evidence of luxurious existence outside the great cities suggests an exaggerated conception of the paltriness of the people's resources, and is doubtless one of the reasons that have induced several foreign observers to describe the Japanese as an essentially poor nation, and

## THE EMPIRE

to infer an unusual want of material comfort in their home lives. Poor they certainly are, according to the standard of Occidental opulence, and comparatively comfortless must be the existence of any people who inhabit flimsy wooden houses with inner walls of paper ; who, instead of sitting in the bright glow of coal or wood fires, cower over charcoal braziers, and who sleep with their heads pillowed upon blocks of wood instead of piles of feathers. But to conclude that Japanese homes lack the paraphernalia of a highly refined civilisation, or are without the most logical of all comforts, suitability to the mode of life dictated by the climate, by the products of the soil, and by the physiographical conditions of the country, would be an error into which readers of this work, at any rate, shall not be betrayed. Upon entering the house of a Japanese gentleman, the foreign visitor of to-day is at first disconcerted by the entire absence of all that he is accustomed to regard as essential to domestic comfort. There are no chairs or other furniture in the reception room, and if he dines with his host the meal will be served upon



## J A P A N

the floor. If he remains over night he will find no bedstead or other furniture in his sleeping apartment, and as he bestows himself between the comforters upon the floor for slumber, he will no doubt have much the same sensations that he experiences in his own country when he enjoys a comfortable bivouac. Not only are the ordinary appliances for comfort, as he understands it, entirely lacking, but the outward signs of artistic refinement, at first glance, do not appear. There are no pictures, books, bric-a-brac or other movable ornaments such as he is accustomed to find in Occidental homes — merely a general barrenness that seems cold and uninviting. Nevertheless a more intimate acquaintance with his surroundings will tend not only to remove this impression, but to supplant it with the conviction that the exquisite taste expressed by the simple means employed is of a very high order, and that so far as physical comfort is concerned the appliances used are fairly well adapted to the requirements of the Japanese, even though they fail to satisfy Occidental needs.

## II

### THE EARLY JAPANESE AND THEIR HISTORY

**F**EW PROBLEMS PRESENT greater difficulties than that of tracing the origin of the Japanese people back through ages of which the surviving records lack historical accuracy or trustworthiness. Whether the race now inhabiting the islands should be regarded as autochthonous or alien; whether it may not be even an amalgam of various nationalities; if alien, to what parent stock it belonged, and how or at what era it found its way to Japan,—these are unsettled questions that have perplexed anthropologists for many years, and continue to supply food for discussion. It might reasonably be anticipated, arguing from the analogy of other nations, that among the Japanese themselves a definite theory would exist; that tradition would have supplied for

## J A P A N

them a proud creed, identifying their forefathers with some of the earth's renowned peoples. It might also be contended that, if the progenitors of the nimble-witted, active-bodied, refined and high-spirited folk now bidding so earnestly for a place in the comity of great nations, had migrated originally from a land peopled by men possessing such excellent qualities as they themselves have for centuries displayed, many annals descriptive of that primeval home would have been handed down, however dimly, through the ages. There are no such annals, no such traditions. Fifteen hundred years ago, when the Japanese first learned to record their ideas in writing, and when they undertook to explain their own origin, so unfettered were they by any ethnographic evidences or acknowledged beliefs that they immediately had recourse to the supernatural and derived themselves from heaven. In the earliest times, their historians gravely related, a section of the gods that dwelt upon high Olympus, *Takama-no-hara*, or the plains of high heaven, descended to an unidentified place called Himuka, and thence gradually

## EARLY HISTORY

pushing eastward, established themselves in the land of sunrise, making the province of Yamato their seat of administration. It is impossible to be at once more sublime and more prosaic than this transition from the empyrean to a vulgar geographical denomination. Western readers will ask at once if the Japanese of to-day credit such a story of their origin. To that the average Japanese of to-day has been known to reply: "Who are you that ask? Have you not had your own burning bush, your own Mount Sinai, your own immaculate conception? Can you conscientiously undertake to rationalise my history while your own contains so much that is irrational?" Behind that *tu quoque*, however, there undoubtedly lurks in the inner consciousness of the educated and intelligent Japanese a resolve not to scrutinise these things too closely. Whether or no the age of the gods, the *Kami-no-yo*, of which, as a child, he read with implicit credence, and of which, as a man, he recognises the political uses, should be openly relegated to the limbo of absurdities, he finds no pressing reasons to inquire. Whether the

## J A P A N

deities had to take part in an immodest dance in order to lure the sun goddess from her cave ; whether the god of impulse fought with the god of fire on the shores of the island of the nine provinces ; whether the procreative divinities were inspired by a bird ; whether the germs of a new civilisation were carried across the sea by a prince begotten of the sunshine and born in the shape of a crimson jewel,—these are not problems that call for very serious solution. They are rather allegories from which emerges the serviceable political doctrine that the Emperor of Japan, being of divine origin, rules by divine right. It is the Japanese historian's method, or the Japanese mythologist's manner, of describing an attribute claimed until very recently by all Occidental sovereigns, and still asserted on behalf of some.

Many things are told about these heaven-descended folk who peopled Japan hundreds of years before the Christian era, and they are things that must be studied by any one desiring to acquaint himself with the motives of Japanese decorative art, for there they play a picturesque

## EARLY HISTORY

and prominent part. But they need not be related here, having already filled many pages in the volumes of other writers. What more concerns us is the fact that the *Takama-no-hara* immigrants did not find an uninhabited country. They found men already dwelling there, men immensely inferior to the newcomers, for these had their chiefs, their officials and their commoners; employed fighting tactics that were apparently invincible, and represented a type of civilisation very high for so remote an era. Japanese history, which began to be written in the reign of the Emperor Richu (400 A.D.), traditionally supposed to be the seventeenth in descent from the first mortal sovereign, Jimmu, seems to suggest that several tribes of aborigines resisted the settlement of the heaven-descended immigrants; for we find the autochthons variously designated as *Tsuchi-gumo* (earth spiders), *Yatsuka-haji* (giants), *Kuzu* (moor-men), and *Saiki* (raiders). It has indeed been inferred by some critics that there was question here not merely of different tribes of the same race, but of different races. The generally accepted con-

## J A P A N

clusion, however, used to be that only one race inhabited the islands at the time of the coming of the *Takama-no-hara* immigrants, and that it was the race called the *Yezo* in early Japanese annals, but now represented by the *Ainu*, a flat-faced, heavy-jawed, tawny-tinged, hirsute people, of whom a little remnant survives in the northern island, called by their name, *Yezo*, and known to Japanese of the *Meiji* era as *Hokkaido*. It will be shown presently that there are cogent reasons for querying the theory that the *Yezo*, or *Ainu*, were the sole inhabitants found by the so-called "heavenly visitors" in Japan. For the sake of lucidity, however, two questions had better be considered at once: who were the *Ainu* originally, and were they the primeval dwellers in Japan, or had they also predecessors?

To answer the former question a reference to physiological conditions is helpful. Looking at a map of eastern Asia, it is seen that only some eight miles of sea separate *Yezo* from *Saghalien*. The interval was probably wider in early ages, for Japan has long been subject to secular movements. Her coasts are gradually raising them-

## EARLY HISTORY

selves from the sea. The same is true of Saghalien. Hence, forty or fifty centuries ago, the Strait of La Pérouse may have measured more than it does now. But the difference can scarcely have been sufficient to affect the possibilities of human immigration. Then, as now, a severe winter meant that the watery interval was frozen over completely, so as to offer easy passage for man or beast. Another glance at the map shows that from Saghalien to the Amur district, across the Gulf of Tartary, is also a mere step. There, too, from time immemorial, the ice has been in the habit of building frequent bridges. It is a reasonable inference that people of the Asiatic continent, finding themselves within reach of the Amur littoral, and finding, also, a safe path across the sea, would have obeyed the instinct that always drives the inhabitants of the bleak north towards the genial south, and, passing over to Saghalien, would thence have pushed on to Yezo, and from Yezo would ultimately have reached the main island of Nippon and the island of Kyūshū, still farther south. This geographical suggestion is borne



## J A P A N

out by ethnographical research, which identifies the *Yezo* with the Arctic tribes of northeastern Asia, whom Rittich groups together as Hyperboreans. But there is nothing in the nature of things to suggest that the *Ainu* were the first to cross from the Asiatic continent to the Japanese islands; nothing to warrant the supposition that they had not been preceded by another race of emigrants; perhaps by many other races. In point of fact, traditions preserved among the *Ainu*, and pit-dwellings and shell-mounds discovered at various places in Japan, indicate that a distinct race had its home in the country before the coming of the *Ainu*. They were the *Koropok-guru*, or pit-dwellers, believed to be represented to-day by some of the inhabitants of Saghalien, the Kuriles and southern Kamtchatka. These semi-savages were completely driven out of Japan by the *Ainu*, no intermixture appearing to have taken place. The *Ainu* themselves lived in caves, wore long beards, and exhibited the propensities of birds of prey, all of which attributes may be inferred from the names given to them in ancient Japanese annals. The

## EARLY HISTORY

immeasurable superiority of the *Takama-no-hara* immigrants doubtless suggested the legend of their heavenly *provenance*. They knew how to forge spears, swords and knives out of iron; they used bows with feathered arrows; they understood the fire drill and the wedge; they wove hempen cloth; dressed elaborately, their wardrobe including skirts, trousers, girdles, veils, hats, necklaces, bracelets and jewelled head ornaments; they combed and arranged their hair; they dwelt in wooden houses of solid and tolerably comfortable construction; they rode on horseback; kept cattle, dogs and fowl; lived on flesh, fish and rice, and included chop-sticks, cooking-pots, cups and dishes among their household utensils. To these invaders the *Yezo* either submitted and became servants, or resisted and were harried with sword, spear and arrow, until, in the seventeenth century of the Christian era, the last of them had been driven from Japan proper to a precarious residence in the northern island. There a gradual extermination, the inevitable fate of the unfit, steadily befell them, so that at the present time only a few thousands

## J A P A N

remain of a race that must once have numbered millions.

Did the contact of the *Ainu* with the *Takama-no-hara* invaders leave any permanent mark upon the latter? Was there any blending of the two races? If these questions can be answered in the affirmative, then there will be interest in considering the correlated problem whether the *Ainu* themselves had been physiologically modified by intercourse with their predecessors, the *Koro-pok-guru*. If the answer be negative, the inquiry need not extend any farther, since our subject is not obsolete Japan, to which the remnant of the moribund *Ainu* race belongs, but Japan of the nineteenth century. By the Japanese themselves it is stoutly affirmed that not the smallest mark of consanguinity can be traced between them and the *Ainu*, or *Yezo* tribe. Unquestionably the languages of the two have nothing appreciable in common, and so far as outward appearance is concerned, the dissimilarity is conspicuous. Nevertheless, certain German anthropologists have placed on record their opinion that the *Ainu* are Mongolians, and that

## EARLY HISTORY

they differ less from the Japanese than the Germans themselves differ from the Armenians. For purposes of academical investigation that view has doubtless some interest. But practical men naturally ask this question: If, after inhabiting the same country during twenty-five centuries, the hirsute, dusky and conspicuously dirty *Ainu* remains so radically unlike the smooth-faced, comparatively fair-complexioned and scrupulously cleanly Japanese, how many centuries of centuries must have been required to differentiate the two peoples originally, supposing them to have had a common stock, as Doenitz, Hilgendorf and Scheube assert? Were it possible to push research back to the fountain-head, it might perhaps be found that all peoples on the face of the globe belonged at one epoch to one family; but the discovery of their primordial relation could only accentuate their present differences. We may accept it as an established fact that the Japanese and the *Ainu* have no affinity whatever.

But the Japanese themselves are not a pure race. They present two easily distinguishable

## J A P A N

types, the plebeian and the patrician. This is not a question of mere coarseness in contrast with refinement; of the degeneration due to toil and exposure as compared with the improvement produced by gentle living and mental cultivation. The representative of the Japanese plebs has a conspicuously dark skin, prominent cheek bones, a large mouth, a robust and heavily boned physique, a flat nose, full, straight eyes, and a receding forehead. The aristocratic type is symmetrically and delicately built; his complexion varies from yellow to almost pure white; his eyes are narrow, set obliquely to the nose; the eyelids heavy; the eyebrows lofty; the mouth small; the face oval; the nose aquiline; the hand remarkably slender and supple.

Here are two radically distinct types. What is more, they have been distinguished by the Japanese themselves ever since any method of recording such distinctions existed. Confident mention has been made above of the degree of civilisation to which the so-called *Takama-no-hara* immigrants had attained fifteen or sixteen centuries ago. Our information in that direction

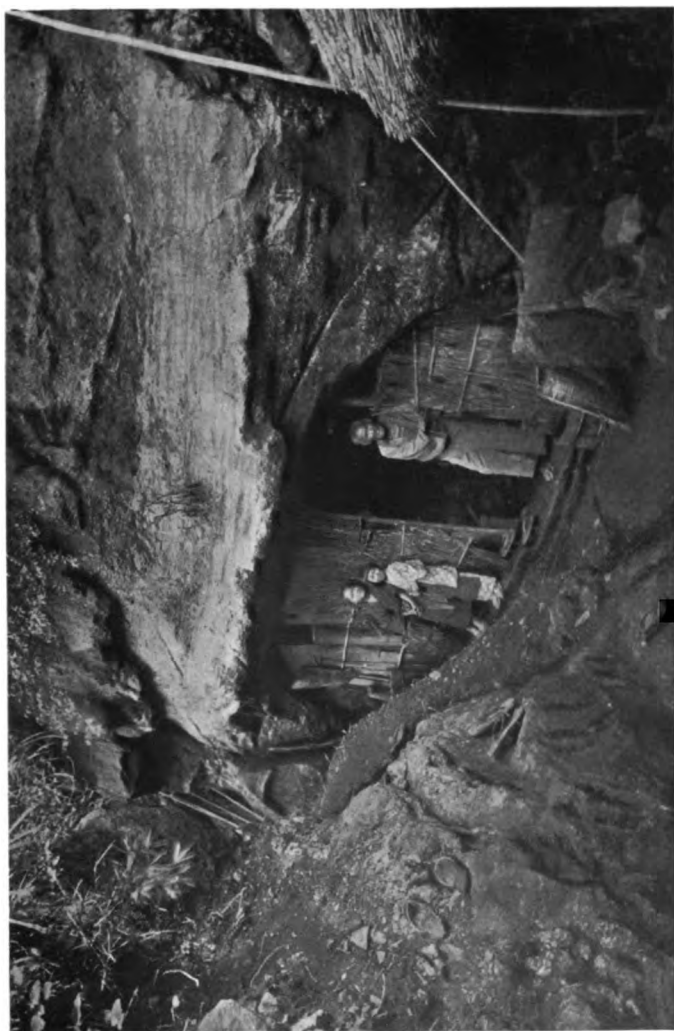


## JAPANESE

The Japanese, it is not generally known, in contrast with the Chinese, are not to be called a "yellow race," due to toil and exposure to the sun, but rather to the fact that the Japanese plots are so small that the farmer has to work them over more than once a year. The Japanese farmer is a small and heavily boned man, with a broad forehead, small eyes, and a somewhat flattened facial type. The typical type is symmetrical, with a small head, a small body, a small build; his complexion is not so fair as to most pure whites, his nose is straight and usually to the nose; the eyebrows are thin and lofty; the mouth is small and usually the rose aquiline; the hand is small and slender and supple.

There are two entirely distinct types. What were formerly distinguished by the use of the words *hakkari* and *hakkari* ever since any method of making such distinctions existed. Confidence has been made above of the degree of assimilation to which the *Yokohama* immigrants had attained fifteen or sixteen years ago. Our information in that direction

[1-]



A CAVE DWELLER AT DOGASHIMA.





## EARLY HISTORY

is obtained from two remarkable works, the *Kojiki*, or records of ancient matters, compiled in the year 711 of the Christian era; and the *Nihon-gi*, a chronicle of Japan, compiled nine years later. The art of writing, as practised in Japan, had been known for about three centuries when these two books were composed. Whatever may be their accuracy or inaccuracy with regard to the incidents of a past already remote at the time of their authors' labours, they certainly furnish a fairly trustworthy account of the state of the country and its people during the early centuries of the Christian era. From them all modern historians have agreed to deduce facts about the civilisation of ancient Japan. On the other hand, the antiquity of the pictorial art furnishes information about the physical characteristics of the people. This clew does not lead us quite so far back, it is true, as do the pages of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-gi*, but it does take us to grounds for asserting that, from the very outset, the Japanese artist recognised and depicted only one type of male and female beauty, namely, that distinguished in a marked, often an

## J A P A N

exaggerated, degree by the features enumerated above as distinctive of the patrician class. There has been no evolution in this matter. The painter had as clear a conception of his type ten centuries ago as he had in the days of Harunobu or Hokusai. Nothing seems more natural than the supposition that this higher type represents the finally dominant race of immigrants, the so-called denizens of *Takama-no-hara*, especially as it is to be found chiefly among the *shizoku*, or military class, whereas the markedly lower type is seen principally among the *heimin*, the fishing, agricultural and trading population. We have to conclude, then, that two tides of immigration reached Japan independently of the *Koro-pok-guru* and the *Ainu*, and it follows, of course, that the inferior race preceded the superior. Here the map again comes to our assistance. Just as Japan is practically connected on the north with the Amur district of the Asiatic continent, so, on the south, the chain of islands to which she belongs, stretches to the Malayan peninsula, and the continuity is further assisted, for purposes of communication, by a current,

## EARLY HISTORY

called the Kuro-shiwo, setting from the Philippines towards Kyūshū. Nothing is more probable than that Malayan adventurers found their way from island to island until they reached Japan, and that they had already peopled its southern parts, driving out any Ainu found there, when the so-called *Takama-no-hara* invaders appeared upon the scene. The Malayan type and the Japanese plebeian type are sufficiently similar to confirm that hypothesis. It remains, then, to discover the origin of the *Takama-no-hara* immigrants.

Japanese history commences with the Emperor Jimmu, who in 663 B. C. is said to have set out from a place called Mimizu, on the east coast of Kyūshū, and, after an immensely protracted voyage, to have reached the Bay of Osaka. Landing there, he subdued the neighbouring districts, and established himself in Yamato province. Independently of the fact that Japanese annals did not begin to be written until more than a thousand years after the alleged date of Jimmu's adventures, there are internal evidences that impair the credibility of this early history. But the

## J A P A N

main facts, namely, that an invader arrived over sea, that he established the Japanese dynasty, and that he was accompanied by the forefathers of the thenceforth dominant race, may be accepted as true. Western ethnologists are tolerably agreed that Jimmu and his followers were Mongolians. There have been attempts to identify them with the lost tribes of Israel; with the Aztecs and with other peoples of the Occident. In Japan there is a belief that they were Manchurians; that is to say, a race which originally emigrated from a remote part of India, a race distinct from the Chinese, of which some settled in Manchuria, spread thence to the northeast of China, and finally passed to Japan. It must be agreed, for the moment, to leave the problem partially unsolved; noting, however, that though the Japanese *shizoku* cannot be absolutely identified with the Mongolian race of to-day, the differences are not so great as to be incapable of reference to the modifying influences of environment acting throughout long centuries. At all events, we may conclude that the final immigrants, Jimmu and his followers, of the so-

## EARLY HISTORY

called *Takama-no-hara* folk, found, on their arrival, a Malayan people inhabiting the southern and central parts of Japan, and an Arctic tribe, the *Ainu*, living in the north, and that, while they amalgamated with the former after conquest, they drove out the latter, treating them as a wholly inferior race, the result being that whereas the Japanese proper show plainly enough the blending of the Mongolian and Malayan types, they show no affinity whatever with the *Ainu*.

These conclusions do not embrace all the suggestions furnished by tradition and physiography. We have accepted the probability that Arctic tribes found their way to Japan along the chain of islands lying between the mouth of the Amur and the Tsugaru Strait; that a tropical tribe migrated northward via the Philippines, Formosa and the Riukiu archipelago; and that a band of Mongolian conquerors arrived over sea. But at another point, also, there exists between Japan and the Asiatic continent a practicable route, namely, from the Korean peninsula by the islands known as Matsushima (Dagelet), the Liancourts

## J A P A N

and Okishima, or by Tsushima, Iki and Matsu-ura. The last of the former three stepping-stones would have brought Korean adventurers within a few miles of the Japanese district of Izumo. Now Izumo figures very prominently in the traditions that the authors of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-gi* applied themselves to record.

When something like consistency emerges from the web of myths and allegories into which unlettered tradition wove the annals of Japan's earliest peoples, attention is immediately directed to Izumo as the seat of government. Before that time, the background of history is occupied by mystic figures of deities whose very titles are abstractions, until at last the God and Goddess of Procreation (*Izanagi* and *Izanami*) having begotten the islands of the Japanese archipelago, beget, afterwards, personifications of the natural phenomena whose operation is to render the islands inhabitable. *Izanami* dies in giving birth to fire. Prometheus-like, she purchases with her life this priceless gift to mortals. *Izanagi*, the Orpheus of Japanese mythology, pays a profitless visit to the land of the shades in search of

## EARLY HISTORY

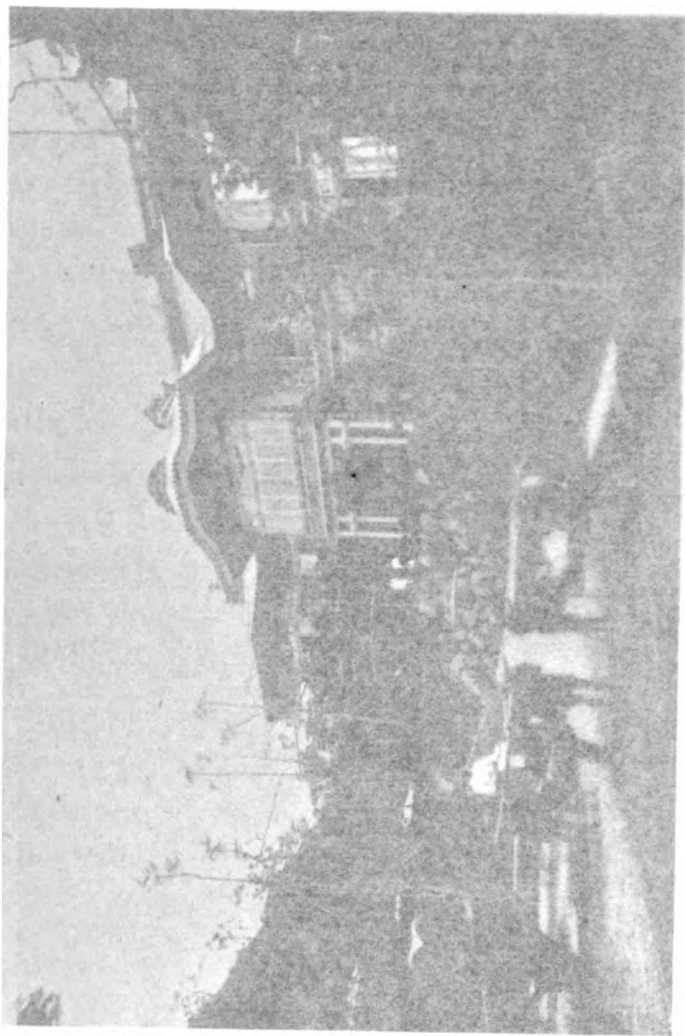
his deceased spouse, and then himself assumes her functions as a child-bearer. From his left eye emerges the Goddess of the Sun, from his right the God of the Moon, and from his nose the Deity of Impulse, *Susano-ō*. To these three the empire of the universe is bequeathed by their sire. But they fight among themselves, and it is not till five generations of *Izanagi's* descendants have come and gone that he nominates the first-born of the sixth to the sovereignty of Japan. This monarch settles in Izumo. He apparently represents the chieftain of a band of adventurers who immigrated from the direction of Korea. By-and-by, another tide of immigration, this time setting from the south, and composed, we may assume, of the Mongoloid wanderers already spoken of, reaches the shores of Kyūshū, and a struggle ensues between the newcomers and the children of the Deity of Impulse. The second immigrants seem to have been worshippers of the Sun, for the God of that orb, *Susano-ō's* brother, is their patron. A pact is at last arranged by the heavenly intervention of the disputants' common ancestor. The Izumo rulers



## J A P A N

abdicate in favour of the invaders, and in the sixth century before our era, Jimmu Tennô, the so-called founder of the Imperial dynasty of Japan, is established in the province of Yamato, as undisputed ruler of the south and centre, though farther north his authority long continues to be resisted by the *Ainu*.

Jimmu, though everything that concerns him is wrapped in the obscurity of prehistoric times, has great interest for students of Japanese life and thought, since the story of his doings, as constructed by the first of his country's annalists thirteen centuries later, shows at least the kind of hero that men of subsequent generations were disposed to depict as the founder of the sacred dynasty, the chief of the Japanese race. The youngest of four sons, he was nevertheless selected by his father to succeed to the rulership of the little colony of invaders then settled in Kyūshū, and his elder brothers obediently recognised this right of choice. Hiko Hohodemi, or Sanu, as the hero was then called, is represented in the light of a kind of viking. Learning of a delectable land in the east, in-

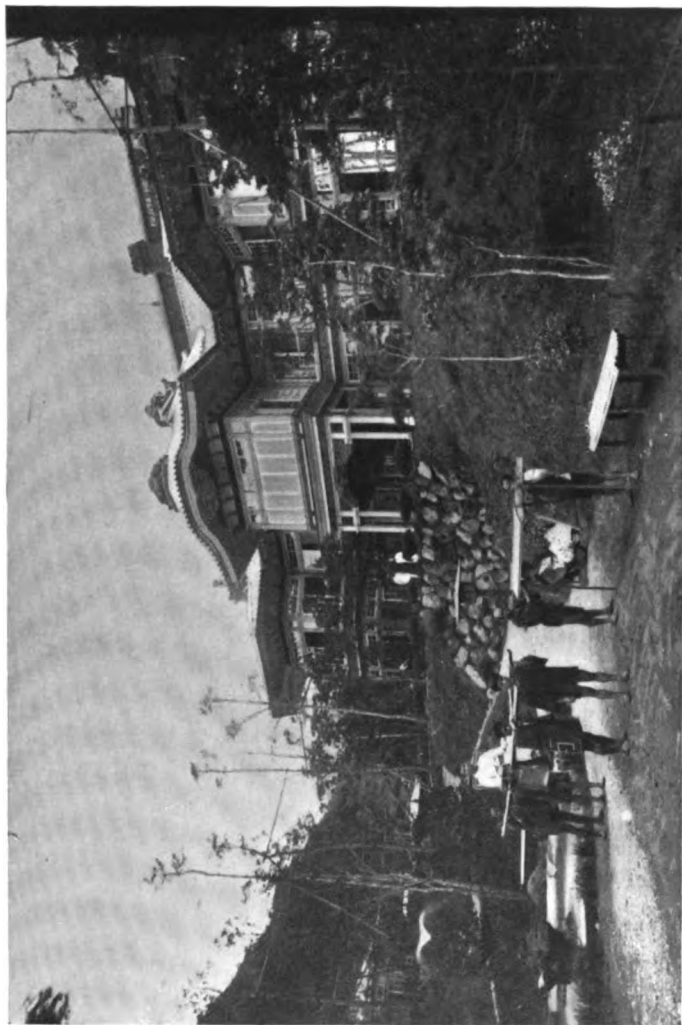


## JAPAN

the conqueror of the invaders, and in the  
year 660 B.C. of our era, Jimmu Tennô,  
the founder of the Imperial dynasty of  
Japan, settled in the province of Yamato,  
the extreme of the south and centre,  
and from there his authority long con-  
tinued to be respected by the *Yamato*.

It is a very interesting fact that concerning him  
there is no record of prehistoric times.

It is a very interesting fact for students of Japanese life  
and the history of the story of his going, as  
constantly in the history of his country's annals  
the name of Jimmu Tennô, shows at least the kind  
of reverence of subsequent generations  
proposed to depict as the founder of the  
Imperial dynasty, the chief of the Japanese race.  
Youngest of four sons, he was nevertheless  
selected by his father to succeed to the rulership  
of the large colony of invaders then settled in  
Kyûshû, and his elder brothers obediently  
renounced this right of choice. Hiko Hono-  
rable Son, as the hero was then called, is  
depicted in the light of a kind of viking,  
conqueror of a defensible land in the east, in-



FUJI-YA AT MIYANOSHITA.



## EARLY HISTORY

habited by semi-barbarous tribes whose primitive arms were incapable of offering any effective resistance to his trained braves, he embarked all his available forces in war vessels, and set out upon a tour of aggression. Creeping along the eastern shore of Kyūshū, and finally entering the Inland Sea, the adventurers fought their way from point to point, landing sometimes to do battle with native tribes, sometimes to construct new war junks, until, after seven years of fighting and wandering, they finally emerged from the northern end of the Inland Sea and established themselves in Yamato, destined to be thenceforth the Imperial province of Japan. In this long series of campaigns, the chieftain lost his three brothers: one fell in fight; two threw themselves into the sea to calm a tempest that threatened to destroy the flotilla. Such are the deaths that Japanese in all ages have regarded as ideal exits from this mortal scene — deaths by the sword and deaths of loyal self-sacrifice. To the leader himself after his decease, the posthumous name of Jimmu, or “the man of divine

## J A P A N

bravery," was given, typifying the honour that has always attached to the profession of arms in Japan. The distance from this primitive viking's starting point to the place where he established his capital and consummated his career of conquest, can easily be traversed by a modern steamer in three times as many hours as the number of years devoted by Jimmu and his followers to the task. That the craft in which they travelled were of the most inefficient type, may be gathered from the fact that the viking's progress eastward would have been finally interrupted by the narrow strip of water dividing Kyūshū from the main island of Japan, had not a fisherman seated on a turtle emboldened him to strike seaward. Thenceforth the turtle assumed a leading place in the mythology of Japan—the type of longevity, the messenger of the marine deity who dwelt in the crystal depths of the ocean, his palace peopled by lovely maidens. The Goddess of the Sun shone on his enterprise at times when tempest or fog threatened serious peril, and a kite circling overhead indicated the direction of inhabited

## EARLY HISTORY

districts when he and his warriors had lost their way among mountains and forests. How much of all this was transmitted by tradition to the writers of Jimmu's history in the eighth century; how much was a mere reflection of national customs which had then become sacred, and on which the political scholars of the time desired to set the seal of antique sanction, who shall determine? If Sanu and his warriors brought with them the worship of the sun, that would offer an interesting inference as to their origin. If the aid that they received from his light was suggested solely by the grateful homage that rice cultivators, thirteen centuries later, had learned to pay to his beneficence, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-gi* must be read as mere transcripts of the faiths and fashions of the era when they were written, not as records of previous ages. But such distinctions have never been recognised by the Japanese. With them these annals of their race's beginnings have always commanded as inviolable credence as the testaments of Christianity used to command in the Occident.



### III

#### THE EARLY JAPANESE AND THEIR HISTORY

(*Concluded*)



CONSIDERING THIS HISTORY of Jimmu's invasion in the context of our previous conclusions, we find that it involves nothing more than the hypothesis that there were two tides of Mongolian immigration, both supposed by Japanese annalists to be of heavenly *provenance*, and both derived by them from a common ancestor, the deity *Izanagi*. So, then, the record finally shapes itself into this: first, the *Koro-pok-guru*; secondly, the *Ainu*, both coming from the north, and the former driven completely out of Japan by the latter; thirdly, a Malayan immigration, via the South Sea islands to Kyūshū; fourthly, a Mongoloid invasion from Korea by Matsushima and Akishima, or by Tsushima and Iki, to Izumo; and, fifthly, another Mongoloid invasion, coming over sea from some unidentified part of

## EARLY HISTORY

eastern Asia, touching at Kyūshū, pushing thence eastward to Yamato, forming a pact with the Korean settlers, and amalgamating with the Malayan and treating the *Ainu* as savages to be exterminated rather than suffered.

It is a reasonable supposition that if an important section of the Mongol invaders reached Japan via Korea, some connection would have been subsequently preserved or renewed with the peninsula, since an easy route travelled in one direction offers itself always for passage in the other. Evidences of such connection are recorded in the most ancient annals, though their credibility is, for the most part, problematical. We are told, for example, that the Deity of Impulse crossed from Izumo to Korea; that the Emperor Jimmu's brother became king of one section of the peninsula; that a prince of the latter, with a considerable retinue, came to the court of Jimmu's ninth successor, sixty or seventy years before the Christian era, was instructed as to the name by which he should call his principality, and received a present which subsequently involved him in a quarrel with a

## J A P A N

neighbouring State ; and that an army was sent from Japan to his aid—the first Japanese military expedition abroad. But as all these things are supposed to have occurred more than four centuries before the art of writing was known in Japan, and seven before the compilation of the works in which they are recorded, the credence fairly attaching to them does not extend beyond an inference that occasional intercourse took place between Japan and Korea in pre-historic days, and upon the whole this seems quite probable.

That the reader may form some idea of the garb in which several of these ancient traditions were dressed for presentation to the public in the pages of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-gi*, it will be worth while to quote an incident ascribed to the time of the Emperor Sui-nin, who is said to have lived from 29 B. C. to 71 A. D.

The peninsula now known as Korea was in that age divided, if we may credit the annals, into three kingdoms, called by the Japanese of subsequent centuries Shinra or Shiragi, Kôrai or Koma, and Hyakusai or Kudara. In the early

## EARLY HISTORY

part of Sui-nin's reign, some twenty years before the Christian era, a prince of Shiragi, by name Ama-no-Hiboko, is alleged to have found his way to Japan and settled there. The romantic circumstances that led to this visit are described in the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*). In the land of Shiragi, we are told, a girl lay one summer's day sleeping by the margin of a lake. The sunlight, becoming enamoured of her charms, shone like a rainbow into her bosom so that she conceived and brought forth a crimson jewel. A poor man, who had witnessed the phenomenon of the sun's amours, prayed her to bestow the jewel upon him, which, having obtained, he wrapped closely in his girdle. But one day, as he was leading an ox laden with provisions for the labourers in the rice fields, he encountered Prince Ama-no-Hiboko, who charged him with the design of killing and eating the ox. The poor man, to appease the other's displeasure, gave him the crimson jewel. This the prince carried home and placed beside his couch, where it was immediately transformed into a beautiful maiden, whom he took to be his wife. By her constant

## J A P A N

ministrations he lived in such luxury that at last he grew vain and despised her. Whereupon she told him that, he being no longer worthy of her, she should return to the land of her fathers; and forthwith, embarking secretly, she fled away to Japan. And he following her, his ship was beaten back and driven ashore at another part of the empire, where he landed and wedded the daughter of the lord of the place. There he begot a child, and there he kept the eight precious things which he had brought from Shiragi; namely, two strings of jewels, a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, a wind-cutting scarf, a mirror of the sea, and a mirror of the shore.

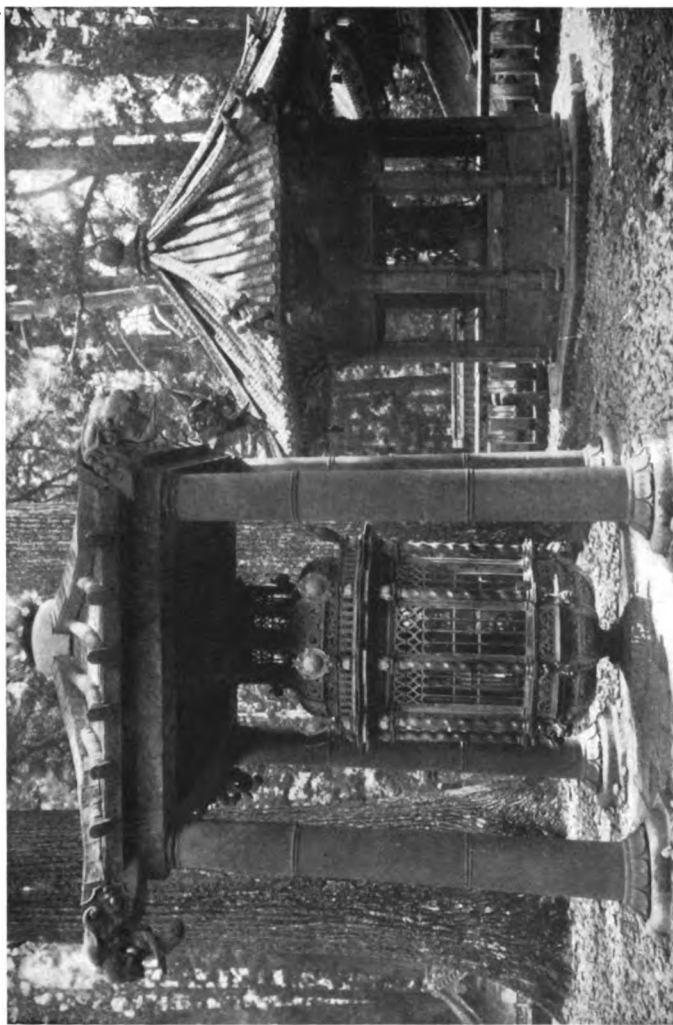
The local colouring of this story seems to indicate a kernel of reality. If the political divisions of Korea were known to the Japanese in the first century after Christ, intercourse of some kind must assuredly have existed between the two countries. But did the knowledge belong to the men of that time, or to the writers of their history seven hundred years later; writers who had no certain means of distinguishing be-



## JAPAN

He was reared in such luxury that at last he grew vain and despised her. Whereupon she told him that, he being no longer worthy of her, she would return to the land of her fathers; and with embarking secretly, she fled away to Japan. And he following her, his ship was driven back and driven ashore at another part of the coast, where he landed and wedded the daughter of the chief of the place. There he begot a child and there he kept the eight precious things which he had brought from Siam; namely, two suits of jewels, a waving scarf, a waving scarf, a wind slaking scarf, a wind slaking scarf, a mirror of the sea, and a mirror of the shore.

The local coloring of this story seems to induce a sense of reality. If the political divisions of Korea were known to the Japanese in the first century after Christ, intercourse of some kind must assuredly have existed between the two countries. But did the knowledge belong to the men of that time, or to the writers of the story seven hundred years later; writers who had no certain means of distinguishing be-



BRONZE LANTERN FROM KOREA AND CANDELABRUM FROM HOLLAND.





## EARLY HISTORY

tween their own information and the information of their ancestors thirty generations before?

Consider now another record of contact with Korea—a record that constitutes an article of implicit faith among the Japanese in general—and contrast it with the poetical allegory of the jewels, the mirror and the scarfs. The period assigned for the incident is about 200 A. D., when the Court of the Japanese rulers was temporarily in the island of Kyūshū, or Tsukushi, as it was originally called. The Empress, so the story runs, had established relations with the gods, and from them learned of the existence of the land of Korea. It would seem that the divine revelation was in the nature of a commission of conquest. She urged her husband, Chu-ai, to essay the enterprise, but he apparently preferred the pleasures of ease to the glories of battle. It is a weird and curious tale. The Emperor, sitting one day in his garden, and ruminating, perhaps, on the toils he was about to undergo in a protracted raid against the aboriginal savages, played softly on his lute. Upon the Empress Jingo, listening to the sweet sounds, the

## J A P A N

spirit of divination descended, and she conveyed to her august spouse the counsel of the gods, saying: "In the West there is a land where the eye is dazzled by gold, silver and treasures of all sorts. Upon thee is this land bestowed." But the Emperor made answer that they were false deities who gave this mandate, seeing that, if a man ascended a high place and looked westward, his eye found no distant country, but only the wide sea. And, pushing away his lute, he sat silent. Then the deities were wroth, and a voice was heard saying: "It is not meet that thou shouldst rule over this empire. Turn therefore into the inevitable path." Whereat the Prime Minister, Take-uchi, cried: "An awesome message, my Heavenly Sovereign! Cease not to play upon thine august lute." The Emperor, slowly drawing the lute to him, touched it with languid fingers. But, even as they listened, the notes became inaudible. And when they raised a light and looked upon the Emperor's face, he was dead. After this event renewed revelations were made to the Empress Jingo, and in consequence she equipped a powerful fleet and set

## EARLY HISTORY

sail for Korea, scattering wood-ashes, chopsticks and leaf-platters upon the waves as she went. Landing on the coast of Shiragi, she penetrated into the interior of the country, and received the submission of its sovereign, who promised thenceforth to send tribute perpetually to Japan.

The truth of this conquest has been questioned by English sinologues, who point out a chronological error by which the birth of Jingo's husband is referred to a date thirty-six years after his reputed father's death. That there was such an empress as Jingo and that she ruled Japan with remarkable success, is apparently confirmed by Chinese records, which speak of Japan in the third century as the "Queen Country," and describe the death of an empress, seeming to correspond with Jingo, in 247 A. D. The balance of testimony, however, goes to show that no Japanese invasion of Korea took place during the reign of this empress, though Japanese antiquarians maintain the truth of the story, and assert that from the time of the expedition eighty ship loads of Korean produce were sent regularly every year from Shiragi to Japan.

## J A P A N

Recently, too, the contention of these antiquarians has been strengthened by the testimony of scholars specially appointed, under the auspices of the Department of Education in Tokyo, for the purpose of making known their country's history at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1898. They rehabilitate Jingo's invasion in the most matter-of-fact terms, ascribing her warlike advice to a divine revelation that, as the rebellious autochthons of Kyūshū against whom Japan's arms were then directed, habitually received support from Korea, the chastisement of the latter was essential to the complete subjugation of the former, and they gravely represent the death of her Imperial consort as a direct punishment inflicted by the deities because he refused to follow her counsels. They further allege that their ancestors learned to write at the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, that is to say, at about the time of Jingo's warlike doings, and then mention the names of two savants, Achiki and Wani, said to have been celebrated at that early epoch, who came to Japan, the former of his own choice, the latter by invitation,

## EARLY HISTORY

bringing with them copies of the Confucian Analects and of the Thousand Ideographs. Wani, we read, was appointed tutor to the Prince Imperial, son of the Emperor Ojin, who thus obtained a thorough knowledge of the Chinese classics. Yet, if we may credit the incidents recorded by these same historiographers, there is no reason why Japan should not have acquired the invaluable art of writing direct from China at a much earlier date, for they allege that in the century preceding the Christian era, or 250 years before the coming of Wani and Achiki, several Japanese subjects received official posts in the Court of an Emperor of the Han dynasty, and many Chinese scholars came to Kyūshū through Korea, by way of Tsushima, Iki and Matsu-ura. Such theories defy reconciliation by the light of any knowledge hitherto accessible. In truth, an exceptionally robust faculty for rationalising myths and interpreting allegories is needed by any one seeking to read facts into the traditions of the earliest Japanese annalists. We shall scarcely be justified in indorsing any assumption based on the existence of intimate

## J A P A N

intercourse between Japan and her neighbours, Korea and China, prior, perhaps, to the fifth century of the Christian era, when it is pretty clearly established that the ideographic script of the Middle Kingdom began to be used in Japan, having already been used in China for many centuries, and in Korea for about six hundred years. But whether we follow Japanese annalists or accept the corrections of Occidental critics, the reader will at once perceive that, if the first tide of Mongolian emigration set from China towards Japan, the event must have taken place at least seventeen centuries before the Christian era; for though we may dismiss the legend that the diagrams of Fuh (3200 B. C.) or the tortoise-shell mottling of Tsang (2700 B. C.) was the hieroglyphic embryo of the ideograph, we are constrained to admit China's possession of some kind of caligraphy as far back as 1740 B. C., and it is inconceivable that emigrants from a land where such a faculty existed would have left the knowledge entirely behind them.

It is alleged that national annals began to be compiled in Japan at the commencement of the

## EARLY HISTORY

fifth century after Christ, but the fact has no practical interest, for the volumes were shortly afterwards destroyed by fire, and a similar fate befell a history said to have been written by the celebrated Prince Shotoku two hundred years later. The result was that the first books safely transmitted to posterity were the *Kojiki* (711 A. D.) and the *Nihon-gi* (720 A. D.). Already the Chinese sexagenary almanac was in use, as was also the system of year periods; two very defective methods of counting time, for in employing calendars based on a sexagenary cycle, errors of sixty or some multiple of sixty are always possible, and by such accidents Japan's earliest records are undoubtedly disfigured; while in reckoning by year periods that change not only with the accession of an Emperor, but also with the occurrence of any memorable event, confusion was inevitable. Taking into account all these obstacles to historical accuracy, it becomes apparent that we need not seek to derive from Japan's early annals anything more than a general idea of the salient incidents that helped to shape the national char-



## J A P A N

acter, and of the usages and customs that indicate its growth.

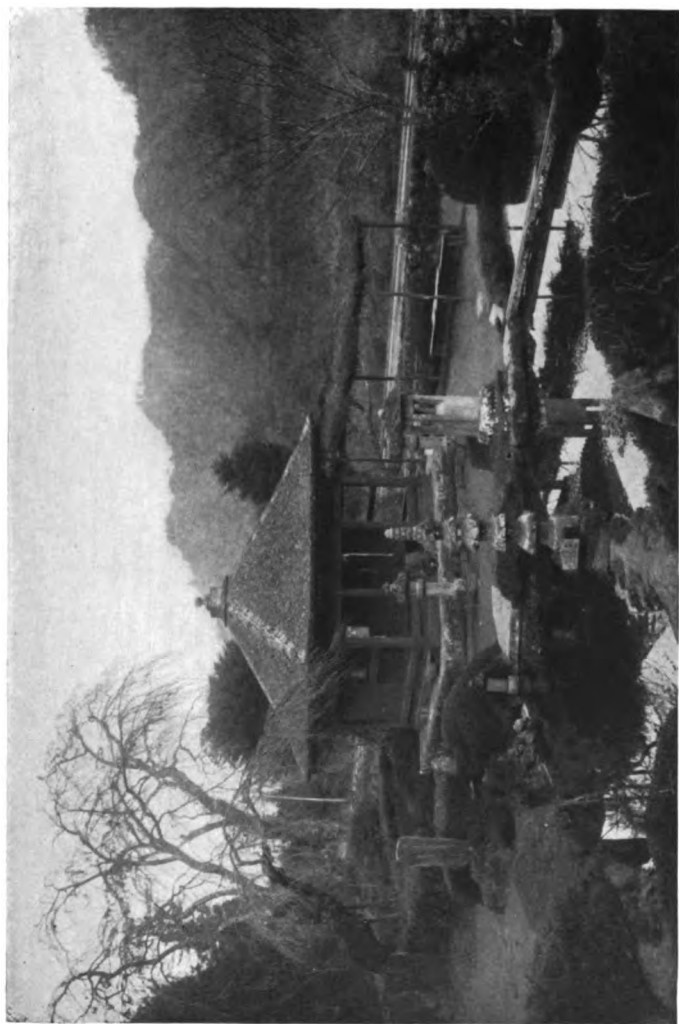
On the solid ground of written records, the first incidents that are encountered are persistent struggles between the Japanese proper—the relatives and followers of the Imperial family—and the aboriginal inhabitants of the islands. This contest involved the frequent despatch of armies to the extreme northern districts, and even of expeditions to Manchuria and Korea, whence the insurgents received succour. Not until the close of the eighth century was the sway of the Imperial Court, then ruling from Kyoto, fully established over the northern rebels, whose resistance had been protracted by their remoteness from the centre of operations and by the inaccessibility of the regions they occupied. Looking at the slow-witted, submissive and semi-savage *Ainu* of to-day, it is difficult to imagine them fighting such fights as are said to have marked their last struggles for independence, when they did not act merely on the defensive, but swept down in ships of war upon the coasts of the main island and raided the



## JAPAN

of the old customs and customs that indicate the old life.

On the old ground of written records, the customs that are encountered are persistent in the fact that the Japanese proper--the adherents of the Imperial family--and the original inhabitants of the Islands, were the object of the frequent despatch of troops to the extreme northern districts, and even expeditions to Manchuria and Korea, where the insurgents received succour. Not until the close of the eighth century was the sway of the Imperial Court, then ruling from Kyoto, fully established over the northern rebels, whose resistance had been protracted by their remoteness from the centre of operations and by the inaccessibility of the regions they occupied. Looking at the slow-witted, submissive and un-savagely *Ainu* of to-day, it is difficult to imagine them fighting such fights as are said to have marked their last struggles for independence--when they did not act merely on the defensive, but swept down in ships of war upon the coasts of the main island and raided the



GARDEN AT DAIMICHIDO.



## EARLY HISTORY

littoral provinces to far-inland points. The weapons used in these battles were iron swords of trenchant quality; spears of bamboo headed with copper or iron; bows and arrows tipped with stone or iron. There appears to have been no attempt to conciliate the northern rebels: their extermination was the object always kept in view. In Kyūshū, however, and in the districts closer to the seat of government, where, it may be supposed, the Malayan immigrants were numerous, a gentler policy was pursued, and by degrees the distinction between these people and the ruling classes ceased to be a source of conflict. Naturally, when the business of fighting occupied so much public attention, the importance of military prowess became more and more accentuated. In the early centuries men took up arms if the occasion demanded such an effort, and laid them aside when the need was past. On every one alike the obligation of military service devolved, and the post of generalissimo was filled nominally if not really by the Emperor. But the necessity of guarding the northern and eastern marches against inroads by the insur-

## J A P A N

gents induced the sovereign to delegate the supreme command in those districts to a *Shogun*, or general-in-chief, thus creating a power destined subsequently to usurp the whole administrative functions of the empire. Already another germ of inevitable disorder existed in an arrangement by which the principal administrative offices were regarded as the property of special families; families whose origin, like that of the Emperor himself, could be traced back to the "age of the gods." Descending from father to son, as a matter of right, without any question about the capacity of their recipients, these posts sometimes chanced to be held by men of ability and ambition, sometimes by mere *faineants*; the necessary result being mutual encroachments and resentments that defied the control of the Emperor himself and often encroached upon his prerogatives.

In truth, various and complicated as are the incidents that flash across the scene in the pageant of Japanese history, the background is always occupied by one uniform picture, a sovereign nominally sacrosanct and endowed by

## EARLY HISTORY

heaven with inviolable prerogatives, but at one time thrust almost completely into shadow by the aggressive ambition of his subjects; at another, drawn forth into the light by violent reactions of their loyalty.

When the Emperor Jimmu established his sovereignty in Yamato—an event which, for our immediate purpose, we may strip of its apocryphal aspect—he seems to have been accompanied by five chieftains to whom, in the hour of his success, he naturally delegated portions of his governing authority. It could not be expected that where the origin of the sovereign himself is obscured by clouds of myth and allegory, the genealogy of his subjects, however puissant they subsequently became, should be transmitted in clear terms to posterity. We can affirm little that is certain about the progenitors of these great families. So conspicuously did the importance of the offices intrusted to them transcend the personality of the individual, that each family became inscribed in the pages of history under the title of the administrative post conferred upon its founder. With regard



## J A P A N

to two of these families—afterwards known as the *Otomo* and the *Kume*—it is recorded that their ancestors were princes who held military command under the first Emperor, Jimmu, when he invaded Yamato, and we may reasonably predicate similar distinction in the case of the others, the *Nakatomi*, the *Imbe* and the *Mononobe*. At the outset, the influence wielded by the five appears to have been fairly balanced. Their principal members were appointed head men of the various administrative and religious departments, and these offices they handed down to their sons and their sons' sons. But before many centuries had elapsed, two of these five families had eclipsed the rest in power and importance, and there had grown up to an almost equal height of distinction a third, the *Soga*, founded by the minister who had acted as sooth-sayer and adviser to the Empress Jingo in her domestic and foreign campaigns. Yet a little, and one of the three virtually disappeared from the administrative scene. Its representatives had been so unfortunate as to be intrusted with the control of Korean affairs, and in proportion as

## EARLY HISTORY

they fruitlessly exhausted their resources in attempts to assert their country's supremacy in the neighbouring peninsula, the consideration that they enjoyed at home waned and finally disappeared. The *Soga* and the *Mononobe* now confronted each other and struggled for administrative supremacy. It does not appear that at first they had recourse to the sword to distinguish the validity of their titles. The Emperor remained final arbiter, and to his decrees they bowed implicitly. But in the middle of the sixth century the situation was complicated by a new factor, the factor that in all ages and all lands has stirred human passions to their worst excesses of intolerant cruelty. Hitherto there had been only one form of religious cult in Japan. It was not, as has often been affirmed, the fetichism found among so many uncivilised peoples. It was rather polytheism, with considerable refinement in abstraction. The era of the personification of causes, though many traces of it still survived, had long given place to their deification, and in some cases not only had the personal qualities been elimi-

## J A P A N

nated, but the process of transforming causes into entities had commenced. The deities celestial having been the ancestors of the deities terrestrial from whom the Emperors directly derived their descent, ancestral worship was an essential part of the ritual, and as the sovereign was only one degree removed from the gods, the people held him sacred during his life, and paid the homage of incense and prayer at his tomb after death. He occupied in their minds the rank of an incarnate deity, and his commands received the reverence due to the mandates of heaven.

To a people educated in such a faith, Buddhism came from Korea in the sixth century. Its doctrines were wholly inconsistent with the maintenance of the old creed. They taught that Buddha was the supreme being; that the future of every man, Emperor or *Eta*, chieftain or churl, depended on his deeds in the present, and that one god, and one god only, claimed the worship of all humanity. Such a faith undermined the very foundations upon which the throne of the *Tenno*, the sons of heaven, stood. Had they been swayed solely by motives of

## EARLY HISTORY

selfish policy, they would have thrust out the propagandists of the foreign creed and devoted all their energies to rooting up any seed sown by them. But polytheism, by whatever human interests fortified, has never successfully withstood the onset of monotheism. The doctrines of Buddha prevailed, and the people of Japan saw the Emperor, who had hitherto been a high god in their eyes, bowing his head in homage to a being recognised as infinitely higher. Fate, the inviolable law of the universe, according to the new religion, now came upon the scene, and the sovereign himself was not exempt from its operation. Prominent men who opposed Buddhism met with violent deaths. Principal among them was the head of the *Mononobe* family, whereas the cause of the foreign faith was espoused with equal animation by the *Soga*. The Imperial family itself was drawn into these intrigues, which culminated in the assassination of the Emperor Susun (591 A. D.)—the only crime of its kind openly admitted by Japanese histories—and the accession of Suiko, the first female that actually reigned with the title of Em-

## J A P A N

press. The *Soga* family was now supreme. But that old malady, the delirium of success, worked its ruin. It is true that the assassination of Susun, which before the advent of Buddhism would scarcely have been possible, did not seriously shock the nation, for the greatest scholar and most revered philosopher of his time, —or perhaps of any time in Japan,—Prince Shotoku, found in Buddhist doctrines an explanation of the crime, and openly attributed the sovereign's death to some evil deed wrought by him in a previous state of existence. People were thus persuaded that the cycle of fate, not the political machinations of Soga-no-Umako, must be held responsible for the catastrophe. When, however, the *Soga* leaders, having caused the murder of two Imperial princes that stood between them and the consummation of their designs, would have procured the throne for a relative of their own, a counterplot overthrew them and the *Soga* family fell from power. Japanese annalists, speaking of this event, employ the formula "the *Soga* family became extinct;" a euphemism signifying that every male bearing

## EARLY HISTORY

the name of *Soga*, greybeard, youth or child, was put to the sword. That was the method of dealing with such cases in ancient Japan, and it continued to be the method throughout mediæval, and even up to comparatively modern, times. Generally, through the devotion and bravery of a retainer, some scion escaped to resuscitate the fortunes of the fallen house in after years, or to restore to it a momentary *éclat* by some deed of fruitless valour. But for the time the family "became extinct."

Such a fate befell the *Soga* in the reign of the Empress Kogyoku (642-645 A. D.). They never again played any prominent part in the national arena. The chief instrument in their overthrow was Kamatari, representative of the *Nakatomi* family. Kamatari traced his descent to a comrade-in-arms of the Emperor Jimmu. The Japanese, in the seventh century of the Christian era, probably knew how to plant and trim a genealogical tree as deftly as any Debrett or Burke of modern Europe. Solutions of continuity in the parent stem were gravely bridged over by recourse to materials that transcended

## J A P A N

comprehension. Nine among the seventeen sovereigns that occupied the throne from the days of Jimmu to the close of the fifth century, lived lives far beyond the span of years conceivable by the degenerate imaginations of subsequent mortals; perhaps because courtly annalists desired to push back as far as possible into mists of antiquity the age of gods from which Jimmu emerged, the earliest mortal figure; perhaps because tradition having preserved only the names of Emperors conspicuous for great achievements, the first writers of history had no choice but to divide the total period of sovereignty among a number of rulers too few to fill up the interval unless abnormal longevity were assigned to some of them. There is also a picturesque explanation: nothing Japanese lacks that aspect. It is that as generation after generation separated the descendants of the gods from their immortal progenitors, earthly influences gradually lent weight to years whose passage was at first lightly felt, until the divine power of resistance to the sapping effects of time ceased to be appreciable. In the *Shinto* mythology this gradual putting off

## EARLY HISTORY

of the immortal for the mortal, crystallises into a pretty legend to which reference will be made in future pages. It is enough to note here that the bluest blood of old Japan always flowed back to an era of mysticism and miracle. Kamatari's ancestor, the companion of Jimmu, was a hero whose life extended to as many centuries as that of common mortals can count scores. At all events, the destroyer of the *Soga* and saviour of the throne could say that his progenitor came to Japan with Jimmu, as truly as any English noble or American citizen can connect his ancestor with William the Conqueror or the *Mayflower*. The difference was one of degree only. Kamatari began his reckoning four hundred years before Senlac and a thousand before the feet of the pilgrim fathers touched Plymouth Rock. Moreover, he carried it back thirteen centuries. These things are not unworthy of notice, for the descendants of Kamatari and his primeval ancestor occupy in Japanese history a place as important as the Imperial family itself. In recognition of his meritorious services he received the title of "Fujiwara," which signifies "wistaria



## J A P A N

plain," and was evidently chosen with poetic reference to the lusty bloom of his great deeds. The Fujiwara family, thus founded, became the repository of the empire's administrative power, and wielded it without intermission for nearly five hundred years. No less than ninety-five out of a hundred and fifty-five families constituting the Japanese Court nobility derive their origin from Kamatari, and bear the name of Fujiwara. It is the most ancient group of noble families in the world, whether Kamatari be regarded as its founder, or whether its origin be traced to his progenitor, Jimmu's companion-in-arms.

A favourite saying of the Japanese is that throughout twenty-four centuries of almost perpetual war and political intrigue, from the founding of the empire to the fall of feudalism, the sacro-sanctity of the sovereign's person never failed to receive full recognition, nor ever did any subject aspire to compass the overthrow and deposition of the heaven-descended race. That assertion must be interpreted relatively. The *Soga* chief Umako not only caused the Emperor Susun to be assassinated, but contrived also that

## EARLY HISTORY

the same fate should overtake two Imperial princes whose accession to the throne would have interfered with his ambitious designs. The Fujiwara family, after they had wrested the supreme power from the *Soga*, retained it in their own hands by a constantly repeated device less violent, though not less disloyal; they seldom allowed the sceptre to be held by an Emperor after he had attained his majority, or, if they suffered him to enjoy the position during a few years of manhood, they compelled him to abdicate so soon as independent aspirations began to impair his docility. At the cost of traversing a cherished dogma of national faith, readers of Japanese history are compelled to conclude that the sanctity derived by the sovereign from his divine lineage contributed to the stability of his throne only in so far as it constituted an inviolable charter of power for the nominal agents of His Majesty's will. Imperialism was a name to conjure with before the public, but its representative was a puppet in the hands of the conjurers behind the scenes. Not immediately, indeed, did the Fujiwara

## J A P A N

nobles develop this dominant influence. Nearly two centuries separated the death of the loyal Kamatari from the unscrupulous usurpations of his descendants, Yoshihisa and Mototsune, at the close of the ninth century. The first subject in the empire at that time was the *Daijo Daijin* — essential administrator and great official — a title employed until 1885 to designate the Prime Minister. Mototsune, in the year 888, invented the still higher office of *Kambaku*, or Regent, and had it made hereditary in the Fujiwara family. The *Kambaku* stood between the throne and the nation. Every official communication must pass through his hands before reaching the sovereign. Thus the authority of the *Mikado* — sublime gate, as the Emperor was called — practically passed to the Fujiwara, though nominally he remained the supreme head of the nation. Yet another office, destined to figure conspicuously in later Japanese annals, and to become a familiar word in foreign ears also, was created for Fujiwara-no-Hidesato in the year 939 A. D. — the title of *Shogun*, or generalissimo. Not only the administrative but also the

## EARLY HISTORY

military power thus fell into the hands of this great family. The century that succeeded Hidesato's nomination as *Shogun* may be described as the period when Imperialism reached its lowest stage of decline, and private ambition attained its greatest height of arrogance. The Fujiwara had contrived that the choice of a consort for the Emperor should be legally limited to a daughter of their family, five branches of which were specially designated as the repositories of that honour through all ages, and were consequently distinguished by the name *Gosekke*—the five assistant families. When a son was born to the sovereign, the Fujiwara had him brought up in one of their own palaces, and on his accession to the throne the particular Fujiwara noble that happened to be his grandfather became Regent. The extreme possibilities of this arrangement were illustrated in the case of Fujiwara-no-Michinaga. He held the office of Regent during the reign of three Emperors (987–1037 A. D.); his three daughters became the consorts of three successive sovereigns, and he was grandfather simultaneously of a reigning

## J A P A N

Emperor and of an heir apparent. That was the zenith of the Fujiwara influence. Michinaga himself appreciated his extraordinary position. He composed a stanza to the effect that the universe seemed to have been created for his uses, and that the round of the full moon was not more complete than the satisfaction of his desires. An author of his era transmitted to posterity some notion of the Fujiwara magnificence in a volume entitled *Eigwa Monogatari*, or “a story of grandeur.”

There now appeared upon the scene two other families destined to play great rôles in Japanese history—the Minamoto and the Taira, often called the *Genji* and the *Hei-ke*, *gen* and *hei* being the Chinese pronunciation of Minamoto and Taira, respectively. It will occur to the reader that to apply the term “family” to a tribe of puissant nobles and a multitude of office-bearers, with hosts of relations, connections and followers, all styling themselves “Fujiwara,” or pledged to support the Fujiwara fortunes, is misleading. They were in fact a great clan, and they will henceforth be so designated, as will



SAMURAI IN ARGENTINA.

## JAPAN . . .

and the splendour of an heir apparent. That was the result of the Fujiwara influence. Michinaga, however, occupied his extraordinary position, and he was so far from the effect that the position seemed to have been created for his benefit, that the round of the full moon was more complete than the satisfaction of his ambition. The author of his era transmitted to posterity some notion of the Fujiwara magnificence in a volume entitled *Heiga Monogatari*, or "Story of Grandeur."

There now appeared upon the scene two other families destined to play great rôles in Japanese history—the Minamoto and the Taira, often called the *Genji* and the *Heike*, *gen* and *hei* being the Chinese pronunciation of Minamoto and Taira, respectively. It will occur to the reader that to apply the term "family" to a tribe of puissant nobles and a multitude of office-bearers, with hosts of relations, connections and followers, all styling themselves "Fujiwara," or even to support the Fujiwara fortunes, is misleading. They were in fact a great clan, and will henceforth be so designated, as will



SAMURAI IN ARMOUR.





## EARLY HISTORY

also the other groups of leaders having a common house name and rallying to a common cause. Some historians deny the propriety of distinguishing the Minamoto and the Taira genealogically from the Fujiwara. Strictly speaking, the criticism is just. The four families constituting the Taira clan were direct descendants of the Emperor Kwammu (782-806 A. D.), and the fourteen families of the Minamoto clan had the Emperors Saga (810-824 A. D.) and Seiwa (856-877 A. D.) for their ancestors. Hence, since the Fujiwara blood ran in the veins of all these sovereigns, the Minamoto, the Taira and the Fujiwara were relatives. In that light, too, they regarded each other for a time, the *Hei* and *Gen* contributing loyally to support the influence of the Fujiwara. But the origin of the Fujiwara differed radically from that of the Minamoto and the Taira. The Fujiwara gloried in a progenitor who traced his lineage to the earliest dawn of their country's human history, and who had received his name by way of reward for saving the throne. The Minamoto and the Taira derived their origin from princes born in

## J A P A N

concubinage, not in wedlock, for the support of whose imperial rank sufficient resources not being available, they had to be reduced to the position of ordinary nobles and appointed to official posts in Kyoto or the provinces. A provincial governorship in those times was a much coveted office. According to law, the term of its tenure is limited, but in practice the post descended from father to son, each occupant adding to the territorial possessions acquired by his predecessor and to the influence wielded by him. All uncultivated lands within the limits of a governor's jurisdiction fell lawfully into his possession, and in proportion as his local power developed, the central government in Kyoto found increased difficulty in controlling him. These provincial magnates gradually developed into great military chiefs, with large forces of well armed and carefully disciplined retainers under their command. They were called *Bu-ke*, or military houses, to distinguish them from the *Ku-ge*, or Court houses, whose heads lived in Kyoto, monopolising the administrative positions, but seeing their emoluments and their influence steadily cir-

## EARLY HISTORY

cumscripted as the provinces passed beyond their sway. Here the student of Japanese history is confronted by one of the great lines of national cleavage, the differentiation of the military and civil classes. Such a separation seems to have been opposed to the genius of the people that invaded Japan from the West. Originally every male unit of the immigrant nation, from the sovereign to his humblest subject, was a soldier when armed service had to be rendered, and returned to civilian life when the sword could be laid aside. Probably such an absence of permanent distinction could not have long survived the multiplication of administrative functions that necessarily resulted as the sway of the invaders extended. But since these immigrants were, in fact, an expeditionary force, soldiering was their first business, and the management of civil affairs must have been regarded as a secondary function, the inevitable outcome of armed conquest. That belief had certainly existed for many centuries, and had become ingrained in the character of the people before Chinese systems of philosophy, ethics and politics began to be studied. It seems

## J A P A N

impossible now to determine with any accuracy the interval that separated the arrival of the "heaven-sent" invaders in the main island of Japan and the advent of east Asiatic civilisation.

Foreign critics of Japan's annals ascribe her earliest knowledge of the art of writing to the fourth or possibly the fifth century of the Christian era, but her own historians confidently place it in the third century. These tell of a son of the Emperor Ojin (270-313 A.D.) who possessed such an accurate acquaintance with Chinese calligraphy that he detected and exposed the use of disrespectful ideographs in a memorial presented by Korean ambassadors to the Japanese throne. Add to this source of uncertainty the fact that everything relating to the warlike invaders of Japan prior to the Christian era is wrapped in obscurity, and it becomes plain that we cannot hope to know, in the first place, how long the Mongoloid and Malayan invaders had lived side by side and what traits of the character of each had become impressed on the amalgam of the two before the influences of a new civilisation began to be felt from abroad; or, on the other,

## EARLY HISTORY

how long those influences had been active before their practical results became so salient as to emerge clearly from the pages of a crudely compiled history. But there will certainly be no serious error in affirming that the two races of warlike invaders had been in close contact, and that Japan had been ruled by a military form of government for at least seven hundred years before Chinese ideas began to permeate the national mind. The first lesson taught by the new cult was that civil and military functionaries should be differentiated; the second, that the administration of State affairs demanded a complexity of mechanism and an elaboration of ceremonial hitherto unimagined by the Japanese. Almost simultaneously Buddhism arrived upon the scene, and presented vivid object lessons illustrating the sensuous capabilities of the alien civilisation. To the Japanese who in early ages had delighted in simplicity; in whose eyes no colour presented such decorative charms as white, and who believed that every human conception of ornamentation must fall far short of nature's achievements, the glittering images brought by

## J A P A N

the disciples of Sâkyamuni, the grand and massive architectural structures designed for the enshrinement of these sculptured wonders, the resplendent paraphernalia of the temples, the gorgeous vestments of the priests, and the refined luxury of their lives—all these new and wonderful things must have seemed to them like a revelation from some heaven higher than the thrones of Jimmu's ancestors.

An effeminate spirit began to quench the old martial fire of the Yamato conquerors. Officials were created by scores to undertake duties that had previously been unconceived, or, if conceived, had been discharged as mere corollaries. Sump-tuary regulations were issued; distinctions of rank acquired new importance; the notion of shaking off the dust of the world from feet that simulated weariness, and passing the autumn of a still green life in luxurious retirement, found favour with sovereign and subject alike, and gradually all functions the discharge of which involved danger or demanded the exercise of really sterling qualities, came to be monopolised by ambitious men who understood the power of

## EARLY HISTORY

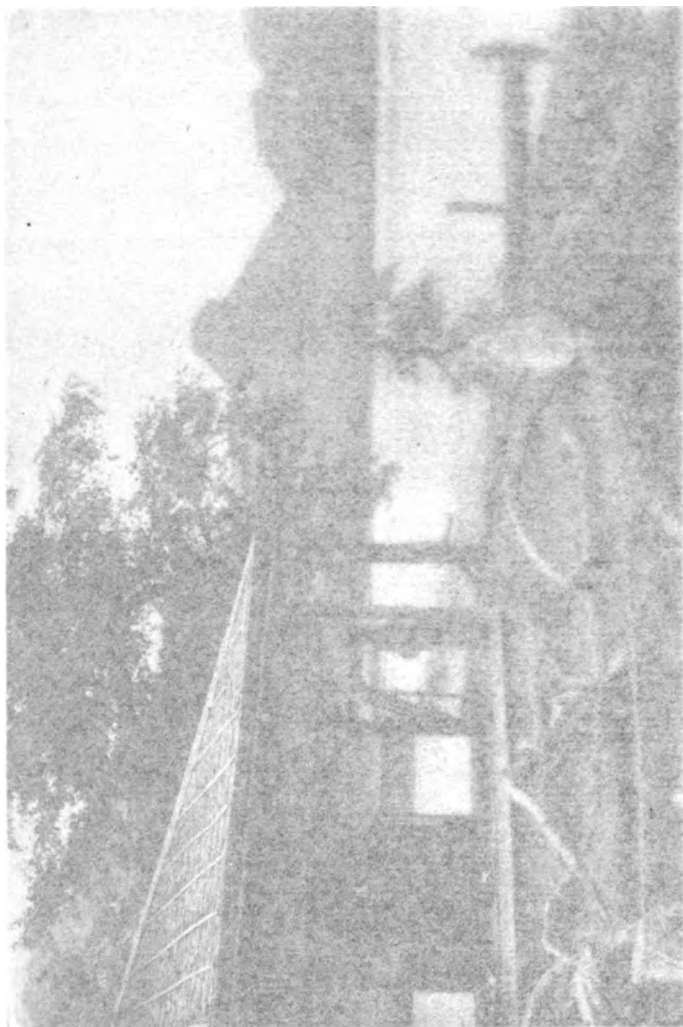
the sword and perceived tempting opportunities for its exercise in the enervated condition of the court and its immediate *entourage*. It is not for a moment suggested that the introduction of Chinese ethics, philosophy and politics, or the influences of Buddhism were altogether bad. To both, Japan owes a heavy debt. But as an old Oriental adage says, there is no use without an abuse, no gain without a loss. Thus, if Chinese systems are directly responsible for the differentiation of the civil and military classes in Japan—a necessary distinction from many points of view—they are indirectly responsible for the growth of an official bureaucracy on the one hand, and of a military feudalism on the other; conditions that fostered exactions, collisions and catastrophes fatal to the tranquillity and prosperity of the nation.

The two great clans mentioned above, the Minamoto and the Taira, were the first practically recognised depositories of military authority. As to what was signified by military authority in the era when these clans began to develop strength, a short explanation is needed. In the



## J A P A N

year 702 A. D. an immense boon was conferred on the nation by the promulgation of a remarkable body of laws, called the *Taiho* Code, after the name of the era of its enactment. Under the provisions of this Code four departments were created for dealing, executively and judicially, with all matters of criminal and civil law. But a century later, during the reign of the Emperor Saga, when the difficulty of providing for the numerous scions of the Imperial family began to be embarrassing, the functions of these four departments were intrusted to a single board, the *Kebüshi-cho*, the headship of which was conferred on one of the princes. The powers wielded by such a board being immense, and its notifications having equal force with Imperial ordinances, ambitious men naturally sought the appointment of chief *Kebüshi*, which, however, fell almost invariably to a prominent member of the *Bu-ke*, or military houses. Thus the military class came to exercise the power of life and death, reward and punishment, in peace as well as in war, and to act as final arbiters in all questions where property was concerned. In the



## JAPAN

In the Japanese Code was contained the result of the promulgation of a remarkable series of laws, called the *Taiho Code*, after the year of its enactment. Under the provisions of this Code four departments were created for dealing, executive and judicial, with matters of criminal and civil law. Some years later, during the reign of the Emperor Tenji, when the difficulty of providing suitable guardians for the Imperial family became more pressing, the functions of these four departments were intrusted to a single board, the *Kubiki-dai*, the headship of which was conferred upon one of the princes. The powers wielded by such a board being immense, and its not infrequently having equal force with Imperial ordinances, ambitious men naturally sought the appointment of chief *Kubiki-dai*, which, however, fell almost invariably to a prominent member of the *Minamoto*, or military houses. Thus the military came to exercise the power of life and death, reward and punishment, in peace as well as war, and to act as final arbiters in all cases where property was concerned. In the



HARUNA LAKE, ABOVE IKAO.



## EARLY HISTORY

middle of the ninth century each province had its *Kebiishi*, and since one of the principal duties of these officials was to check the bandits and marauders then infesting remote districts, they necessarily had considerable forces under their command. As for the military organisation, it was placed at the beginning of the eighth century on a very complete footing. Service was compulsory for all *Samurai*, as the non-civilian element of the population was designated; that is to say, the section of the people that did not include farmers, artisans or traders. Conscripts, having been selected by lot, were either drafted into divisions serving in the nearest locality, or sent up to the capital, there to be embodied in six corps of guards. The provincial troops, constantly exercised in the use of the sword, the spear and equestrian archery, attained and maintained a high degree of efficiency; but the metropolitan guards soon yielded to the enervating influences that surrounded them, and ceased to be useful except as factors in the pageant of pomp and parade affected by the great nobles, or as instruments in furthering their intrigues.

## J A P A N

Here also note must be taken of the gradual growth of great estates, to which brief reference has been made above. The embryo of these territorial acquisitions is to be found in an ancient system of apportioning the revenues from certain fixed properties as emoluments for high officials. By and by there came into vogue a custom of making special grants of land to favourite ministers or to meritorious officials; and ultimately areas reclaimed and brought under cultivation were recognised as the estates of those that had reclaimed them. By the provisions of the *Taiho* Code (702 A. D.) all the land in the country became the nominal property of the sovereign, but at the same time the principle of allotment to individuals received recognition, and was largely practised. Moreover, the operation of the Code was never extended to waste lands, whatever their producing capacities. Resumption and re-assignment of all allotted lands ought to have taken place every sixth year, according to law, but the enactment remained virtually a dead letter unless special considerations prompted its enforcement. Under such circumstances, it is

## E A R L Y   H I S T O R Y

easy to see that nobles, powerful enough to bend the laws to their convenience, or charged with the duty of administering them, were in a position to extend the area of their territorial possessions by purchasing the lands of persons indisposed to reclaim or cultivate them, and by becoming assignees of lands that seemed to be in danger of resumption. In this way immense tracts came into the possession of military nobles or of Buddhist temples, for the priests in every age showed a keen practical appreciation of the potentialities of portly revenues. These estates were exempted from taxation. Their holders came to be called *Daimyo*, or "great names;" armies of retainers and servitors obeyed their orders; their authority was locally supreme, and the provincial governors nominated in Kyoto either made no attempt to interfere or carefully absented themselves from the scene of their supposed jurisdiction. This state of affairs existed notably in the eastern provinces, where no less than eight Minamoto families were classed as *Daimyo* at the commencement of the twelfth century, while in the west and south the Taira influence dominated.



## J A P A N

From the beginning of the twelfth century to the close of the sixteenth, the whole foreground of Japanese history is occupied by sanguinary struggles between the Minamoto and the Taira clans. Nothing comparable with this five-centuries war is to be found in the annals of any country. Intervals of peace, more or less brief, of course separated eras of battle, but, on the whole, the blessing of complete and continued tranquillity was never enjoyed. A dispute about the succession to the throne supplied the prime cause of the interminable contest. The Fujiwara Regents' custom of contriving that no sovereign should continue to wield the sceptre after he had attained an age inconsistent with the free exercise of the Regent's power, could not always be practised without provoking resistance or suggesting intrigues. The year 1159 saw the great nobles in Kyoto divided into two groups: one supporting the succession of the son of an Emperor who had been compelled to abdicate; the other, that of the brother of an Emperor who had died at the age of 16 under suspicious circumstances. A battle was fought, memorable

## EARLY HISTORY

for its strangely internecine character. The rival princes stood to each other in the relation of uncle and nephew. The same relationship existed between two Taira leaders that had espoused opposite sides. A Minamoto chief found himself fighting against his own son, and a Fujiwara Regent led an army against his brother, the Second Minister of State. One day's fighting practically settled the question of the succession, but opened a campaign destined to last for five hundred years. The story of this unparalleled contest contains chapters of splendid bravery, of heroic devotion, of consummate generalship and of brilliant administrative ability. But it contains, also, pages of craven cruelty, of degraded cunning, of venal treachery and of debauched incompetence. Yet the memories that it bequeathed to later generations were those of great warriors and wise legislators, rather than of weaklings and incapables. Kyomori, Yoritomo, Yoshitsune, Yasutoki, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu are names that every Japanese speaks with just pride. The most picturesque and in many respects the most remarkable figure among

## J A P A N

the seven is that of Hideyoshi, commonly called the *Taiko*. He was born in 1536 in the province of Owari. His father, a soldier of straitened means, anticipated for the child no future brighter than service in the lowest ranks of some nobleman's retinue. The lad did not give any indications of great capacity. Of stunted stature, exceptionally dark complexion and strikingly ill-favoured countenance, his physical imperfections were not balanced by any show of diligence in study or aptitude in acquiring knowledge. Wayward, mischievous, unendowed with any attractive or promising qualities, this strange child was nevertheless destined to become the greatest captain and the most astute statesman that his country had ever possessed. The story of his life has been written again and again. It is too striking to be epitomised. Never, perhaps, has there been a more conspicuous illustration of the old experience that circumstances beget the men to deal with them. Had Hideyoshi belonged to any of the great families whose struggle for supremacy was deluging the country with blood, the mere fact of

## EARLY HISTORY

his lineage must have arrayed against him a host of hostile rivals. But he was despicably common. Not a drop of blue blood clouded his faculties. Solely by force of military genius he conquered wherever he fought, and by an acute perception of the value of justice and the uses of clemency he made content and tranquillity the successors of turbulence and disaffection. When he attained his twenty-third year, exactly four centuries had elapsed since the great battle of the succession in Kyoto. That battle placed the Emperor Nijo upon the throne, and established the military supremacy of the Taira clan under the leadership of the renowned Kyomori. Thirty years later the clan had been crushed beyond hope of resurrection, and its rivals, the Minamoto, had grasped the sceptre of administrative power, and established their headquarters at Kamakura.

It is improbable that in choosing Kamakura for the seat of his government Yoritomo appreciated the full advantages of a military capital separated by three hundred miles from the Imperial metropolis, and practically segregated from

## J A P A N

the intrigues that disturbed Kyoto and from the atmosphere of luxury and laziness that enervated the noble denizens of the southern city. The eastern provinces had long been the seat of Minamoto influence, and Yoritomo doubtless found it natural to establish his headquarters in the districts whence he derived his resources and where his loyal partisans were assembled. But whatever of deliberate selection or whatever of happy accident was responsible for his procedure, this completely independent consolidation of his power assumes a character of profound astuteness when viewed by the light of subsequent events, and marks an epoch in Japanese history. All the aspirants for supreme authority had hitherto made Kyoto the scene of their schemes and their struggles, thus bringing themselves and their supporters within the vortex of Court cabals, and exposing their followers to the emasculating influences of the luxurious and refined city. None of these grandly ambitious personages had been able to eschew the intoxicating pastime of emperor-making. In the sixth century the *Soga* family attained a supreme position



J A P A N

the disturbed Kyoto and from the capital to the provinces, and Izu-no's that covered the mountains on the southern city. The Emperor's orders had long been the sentinels of the peace, and Yoshitomo doubtless intended to establish his headquarters in the capital, where he devoted his resources and his energies. Plans were assembled. But Yoshitomo had no definite selection or whatever of a course to follow for his procedure. He had no definite consideration of his aims, and he had no factor of profound astuteness, as revealed by the light of subsequent events, which was an epoch in Japanese history. Yoshitomo's passion for supreme authority had led him to devote to the scene of their schemes and to the intrigues, thus bringing themselves and their supporters within the vortex of Court cabals, and exposing their followers to the enmeshment of the ever-to-be treacherous and reticent courtiers. None of these grandly ambitious personages had been able to eschew the intoxication of unprovoked vengeance. To the sixth prince, Prince Sôke, finally attained a supreme position.



FENCING.





## EARLY HISTORY

by interfering between the sovereign and the treasonable designs of their rivals, the *Mononobe*. But the very leader, Umako, to whose credit this loyal act stood, became himself responsible, within a few years, not only for the assassination of an Emperor but also for the enthronement of a lady related to his own family. Thenceforth, during the *Soga's* brief tenure of supremacy, the circle of their influence and intrigue narrowed rapidly round the throne, and seemed likely to close on it altogether, when, Kamatari interposing the old weapons of murder and extirpation, the *Soga* "became extinct" after half a century of dictatorship. With Kamatari the Fujiwara clan rose to eminence, but they, too, played with sovereigns as with puppets, thus exposing their own strength to the shocks of popular indignation and inviting the constant intrigues of loyal subjects or impatient monarchs. Kyomori, the Taira leader, had no sooner mastered the political situation than he, in turn, sought to secure for himself and his heirs the ægis of imperialism by contriving that the Emperor's consort should be a Taira, as she had

## J A P A N

hitherto been a Fujiwara. He thus forced the Fujiwara into the arms of his enemies, and set revolving the wheels of conspiracies destined ultimately to crush him. For the mandate that raised the standard of the Minamoto against the Taira emanated from a prince whose brother Kyomori had compelled to abdicate after a reign of only three years, and whose father he had actually seized and placed in confinement. Most significant of all was the fact that, at the final battle of Dan-no-ura, when the Taira power received its deathblow, the widow of Kyomori sprang into the sea, carrying with her the Emperor Antoku, then a child of only five; a tragedy that aptly closed the long drama of six centuries during which sovereigns had moved across the national stage as mere lay figures, directed by mechanism that they never for an instant controlled. All this underwent a complete change at the hands of the Minamoto chief Yoritomo. His policy was to establish the military power on an independent basis, and to avoid any semblance of collision with the throne. The measures that he elaborated with those

## EARLY HISTORY

objects evinced consummate wisdom and foresight, but to describe them here would involve details inconsistent with the general brevity of this sketch. It will suffice to say that, though conflicts did afterwards take place between the emperors in Kyoto and the military autocrats in Kamakura, not the ambition of the latter, but efforts on the part of the former to recover their grasp of administrative authority, were responsible, in the main, for such incidents.

Kamakura, when Yoritomo thought of establishing his capital there, was a little fishing village, standing on the shores of a quiet bay, overlooked by wooded hills and cliffs of gentle contour. That is its description to-day. A tiny hamlet consisting of a few thatched cottages represents what was once a vast city, the houses of its million inhabitants covering plains where rice and barley now grow, and its streets stretching into the recesses of highlands that no longer betray the smallest trace of such intrusion. The grave of Yoritomo looks down from a nook among pine groves on the desolation that has replaced so much magnificence, on a temple

## J A P A N

where fragments of the great conqueror's armour are preserved, and on the spot where the ambassadors of Kublai Khan were executed. Kamakura is still celebrated, indeed, not for the sake of what it once was. It owes the notice it now receives to a bronze image of Amida, colossal in size, inimitable as a work of art, its face of intellectual and passionless serenity typifying the everlasting calm that has fallen on these scenes of ancient tumult and puissance. Here Yoritomo organised the Shogunate as the repository of all administrative authority in the empire. The title of "Shogun" had been originally adopted by the Fujiwara chief Sumitomo, in the middle of the tenth century. Its functions were then of a purely military character. But the "Shogun" of Yoritomo's construction may be best described as a military dictator, exercising supreme sway in all departments of State, though nominally subservient to the sacred sovereign in Kyoto, the ultimate source of all power, who, by right of divine descent, occupied the position of the nation's hierarch. The Kamakura Shogun had his de-

## EARLY HISTORY

partment of public archives, his department of justice, his department of civil administration and his department of military affairs. High constables in all the provinces and intendants of the great estates officiated in his interests and obeyed his control. The local magnates everywhere stood to him in the relation of vassal, and every landholder in the realm contributed a bushel of grain per acre to his exchequer. But the power thus created could be swayed by strong hands only. After Yoritomo's death the political drama that had been played for so many centuries in Kyoto, was reproduced at Kamakura. Just as in the Imperial city the Fujiwara Regents (*Kwambaku*) usurped sovereign sway, taking care that the throne should always be occupied by minors, so in the city of the Shoguns another kind of regents (*shikken*) soon succeeded in getting the substance of authority into their hands, leaving its shadow only in the possession of the boys who, through their contrivance, bore the title of Shogun. Out of these intrigues tumult soon grew afresh. Once more the empire echoed from end to end with the

## J A P A N

tramp of armies and the clash of weapons, and only the extraordinary genius of a Hideyoshi succeeded in evolving peace and order out of such confusion and chaos. Even Hideyoshi might have found the task beyond his strength had he not been assisted by Ieyasu, a Minamoto, the founder of the Tokugawa line of Shoguns. Ieyasu had once stood in armed opposition to Hideyoshi, and on that sole occasion throughout his long career of campaigns, Hideyoshi had failed to come off victorious. The high estimation he had already formed of the Tokugawa chieftain's sagacity as a statesman was now supplemented by profound respect for his talents as a general. On his deathbed Hideyoshi spared no effort to secure to his infant son the inheritance of his own marvellous successes, and to that end sought, above all things, to enlist the co-operation of Ieyasu. The Tokugawa leader promised what was asked of him, and to his honour it must be recorded that he faithfully endeavoured to be true to his word. But circumstances proved over strong for him. Two years later (1600) a battle, virtually the

## EARLY HISTORY

final and certainly the greatest in the campaign of five centuries, was fought at Sekigahara, in Owari. It placed Ieyasu on such a pinnacle of power that every *Daimyo* throughout the empire had no choice but to make act of submission. The last to yield was Shimazu of Satsuma, and one of the chief sufferers by the ascendancy of the Tokugawa cause was Mori of Choshu, who found himself stripped of six out of the eight provinces that had hitherto owned his sway. Readers of these outlines of Japanese annals will have studied them very superficially if they require to be told that when the Tokugawa dynasty fell from power two hundred and sixty-seven years later, it received its deathblow at the hands of Satsuma and Choshu.

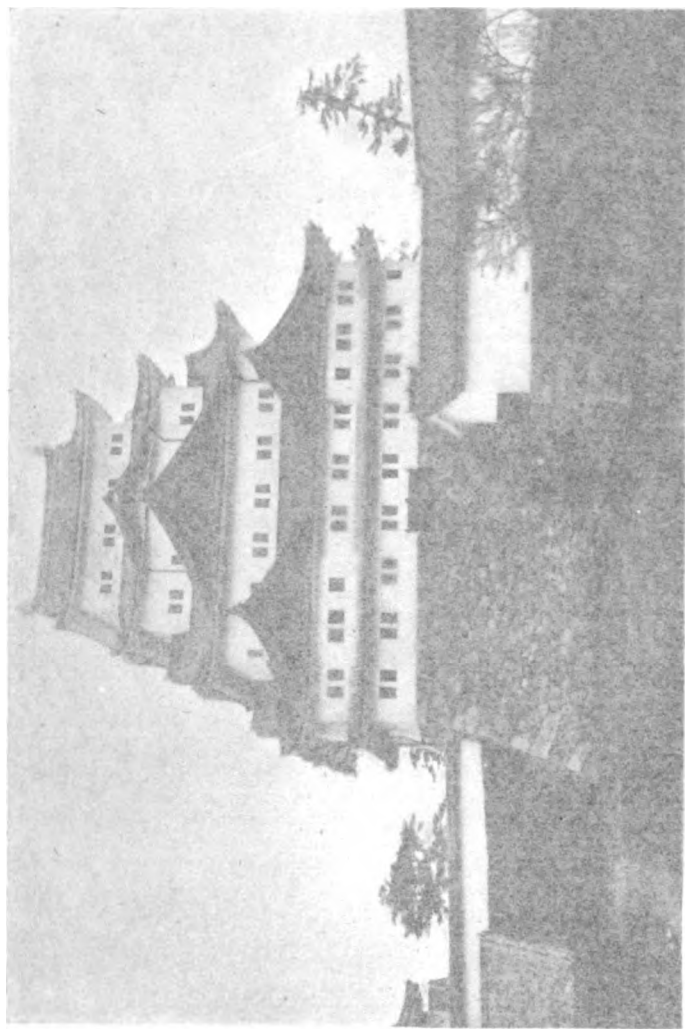


## IV

### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOKUGAWA DYNASTY, AND JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE ORIENT IN THE EARLY AGES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA



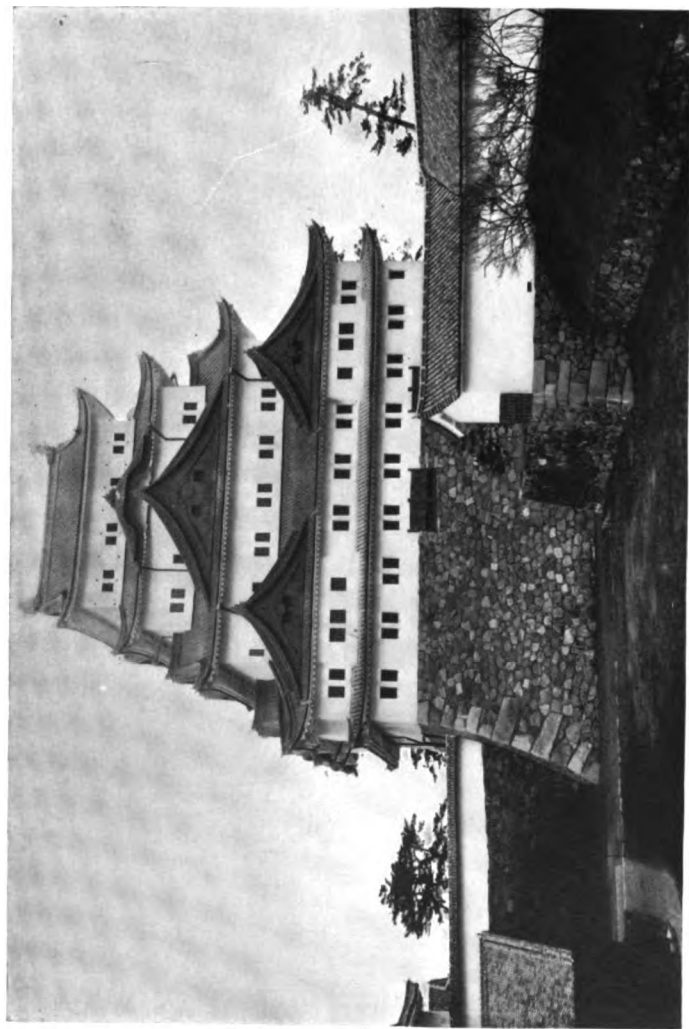
**A**FTER THE LAPSE OF CENTURIES has softened the glare of the events they record it is easy to read the pages of the past; easy to decipher the lessons they teach when the scholar's interest is calmly academical. But what we thus gain in the judicial faculty we lose in the appreciative. We see only the outlines of the picture, not its sensational details; only pallid abstractions instead of vivid realities. And if our sense of the circumstances is so imperfect, must not our estimate of the men that dealt with them be correspondingly defective? This consciousness of meagre retrospect oppresses us acutely as we peruse the records of Japan; for while they tell



## IV

### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOKUGAWA DYNASTY, AND JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST IN THE EARLY AGES OF THE EDO PERIOD

**A**FTER THE LAPSE OF CENTURIES has softened the glare of the events they record it is easy to read the pages of the past; easy to detect the lessons they teach when the scholar's eye is wholly academic. But what we thus gain in the judged faculty we lose in the appreciation. We see only the outlines of the picture, not its sensational details; only pallid abstractions instead of vivid realities. And if our sense of the circumstances is so imperfect, must not our estimate of the men that dealt with them be correspondingly defective? This consciousness of the defect in our retrospect oppresses us acutely as we peruse the records of Japan; for while they tell



NAGOYA CASTLE.



## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

with sufficient accuracy about the massing of armies, the storming of castles, the fortunes of great families, and the enactments of shrewd rulers, they preserve, with regard to the characters and private lives of the men they discuss, a silence absolutely uniform except where it is broken by accident. We long to follow to their homes and pass a quiet day in company with these intrepid fighters and magnificent usurpers, whose figures, as they move across the pageant of their stormy era, even the dull brush of the stolid ideographist has not been able to rob of electric suggestions; long to know how they loved and how they lived outside of camp or court, and to discover whether the motives of their splendid achievements or splendid excesses lay beyond the range of those small emotions that make all humanity akin.

Under an old pine tree in the island of the Nine Provinces there is a tomb, insignificant but not untended. It contains the ashes of Shibata Katsuiye and his wife, Odani. Besieged in his castle by the *Taiko*, and seeing that all hope of successful resistance must be abandoned, Shibata

## J A P A N

resolved to adopt the *Samurai's* exit from disgrace, death by his own hand. "He made known his intention to his vassals and told them that if they pleased to surrender so as to save themselves and their families, they had his full permission to do so. But they declared that they preferred to die with him. Preparations were therefore made to fire the castle at several places simultaneously, and by Shibata's orders a feast was spread, that the warriors might pledge each other before the end. Ignorant of what these things signified, Shibata's wife and other ladies of the castle attended at the feast and filled the wine cups. When the revel was at its height, Shibata informed Odani of his purpose, and bade her fly with his children and the other women. But she refused, nor would any of the women consent to abandon their husbands. Presently the fires were ignited, and Shibata, having decapitated his wife and children, killed himself, the rest following his example."

What a scene! What a description! It is thus that the Japanese historian dismisses incidents of sublime pathos and transcendent devotion. Per-

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

haps he is right. Perhaps the tragedy towers above all comment. But as we look at the charred and rusty fragments of Shibata's armour, gathered from the ruins of his castle three hundred and fourteen years ago, and now preserved in a little temple near the old pine grove, it torments us to think that between the men of these later ages and the actors in such a drama no bridge of vivid sympathy has been traced by the pen of a faithful annalist. And so it is with nearly all the great figures of Japan's past. They are buried far beyond the reach of intimate acquaintance. We can no more clasp mental hands with them across the gulf of centuries than we can replace those fire-eaten links of shattered armour on the hero that once wore them, or reconstruct the figure of the sweet and equally heroic Odani from the ashes in the grave under the pine tree.

Never does this want of a biographer distress us more sharply than in the case of Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty of Shoguns. Japanese historians tell us simply that he was a man of indomitable courage in war, suave



## J A P A N

methods in peace, wonderful astuteness and infinite patience. Of all those attributes his recorded deeds are eloquent: we have no need to be informed of them. But for the rest we know little. Considering, across an interval of nearly three hundred years, not merely the battles that he won and the strongholds that he captured, but also the administrative system that he elaborated, our enthusiasm for the brilliant general is eclipsed by our admiration for the astute statesman. We perceive that on foundations which to all his predecessors had proved shifting sands, and with materials in which their hands could find neither consistency nor stability, he was able to erect a structure so shrewdly adapted to the purpose of the builder, so exhaustively inclusive of the resources at his command, so astutely calculated to withstand the disintegrating influences fatal to all previous creations of ambitious enterprise, that even now, measured by the wisdom that succeeds the event, the perfection of his plan astonishes us. To separate himself mentally from the storm and stress of his surroundings; to project his gaze beyond the tumult of present

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

events that nevertheless demanded his constant attention and control; to analyse the causes that had condemned his country to five centuries of battle and bloodshed; to synthetise his conclusions into a system that should substitute for the incessant din of strife and the prevailing peril of life and property three hundred years of happy tranquillity and undisturbed security, — such are the achievements that history has to place to the credit of the nation that produced him. It is the fate of all great performances to be sceptically appraised by later generations. King Arthur and his Broceliande seer become the fabled Lemenitz and the mad Myrdhinn; the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey loses his individuality and passes into a mere pseudonym for a golden age of poetry; the Bard of Avon receives only vicarious immortality. So, too, it is said of Ieyasu that he was but the partial planner of the organisation of the Tokugawa Regency, and that many of the details, as well as the perfecting of the whole, must be attributed to his grandson, Iyemitsu, the third Shogun of the line. Iyemitsu was undoubtedly a

## J A P A N

great statesman. The old adage that hereditary genius skips a generation seems to have been confirmed in his case. But there are sufficient reasons for concluding that he achieved rather than originated; that he deepened, but did not deviate from, the grooves traced by his grandfather. Ieyasu was the architect. The short span of life that remained to him after the battle of Sekigahara could not suffice to consummate his projects, but certainly did suffice for their clear delineation.

It has been seen that the doctrine of the Mikado's divine descent survived all the vicissitudes of Imperial life. Weeds might flourish in the neglected courtyards of the palace at Kyoto; the corpse of an Emperor might lie uninterred for weeks through lack of money to perform the funeral rites; sovereigns might be held prisoners by haughty subjects, or compelled to abdicate at the first display of a tendency to exercise independent governing sway; but the theory of the monarch's sacro-sanctity remained absolutely unchallenged. Even to-day, when the merciless scalpel of the critic lays open the mummy-cases

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

of antiquity, and discloses dust and emptiness in places peopled by tradition with figures of splendid humanity, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a Japanese writer bold enough to scrutinise the legends that environ the throne. In one of the recent epidemics of cholera that Japan has received as part of the paraphernalia of her new civilisation, there perished an antiquarian of note, Ninagawa Noritane. He was a shrewd man and a learned. The history of old times he knew by heart; the suggestions of a shard he read accurately; he could assess the value of evidence with acumen, and the vapouring of contemporary sciolists never deceived him for a moment. Yet that the keramic art was practised in Japan more than twenty centuries ago he gravely inferred from a legend that the disgraced deity Susa-no-o used a row of earthenware pots to administer intoxicating drink to a dragon demon. Western folk can scarcely persuade themselves to believe that in a land where journalists preach, politicians agitate and parliaments debate, the sovereign's direct descent from heavenly ancestors is still an article of popular faith. Yet so it is;

## J A P A N

and so it was most indisputably when Ieyasu retired to his castle in Shizuoka and devoted the last ten years of his life to elaborating the system that was to give peace to his country and uninterrupted tenure of power to his family during nearly three centuries. He had to provide, in the first place, that the sovereign should no longer be a puppet in the hands of ambitious nobles, and that insurrection should no longer be able to borrow legitimacy from an enforced semblance of Imperial sanction. He approached this difficult problem boldly but with extreme subtlety. Fuller recognition than ever was given to the divinity of the occupant of the throne, but, at the same time, the logical sequence of the doctrine was insisted on. The descendant of the gods must not be contaminated by contact with mundane affairs. His intercession with high heaven on behalf of his subjects must never be troubled or warped by the passions or prejudices of common life. Absolute seclusion thus became a plain essential of the programme. Imperial progresses, visits to shrines, audiences — such things ceased to be



## JAPAN

It was most indisputably when Iyeyasu moved to his castle in Sizuoka and devoted the last twenty years of his life to elaborating the system which was to give peace to his country and secure its undisturbed tenure of power to his family during the next three centuries. He had to provide, in the first place, that the sovereign should no longer be a puppet in the hands of ambitious nobles, and that instruction should no longer be able to borrow legitimacy from an enforced submission to imperial sanction. He approached this difficult problem boldly but with extreme subtlety. Fuller recognition than ever was given to the divinity of the occupant of the throne, but, at the same time, the logical sequence of the doctrine was insisted on. The descendant of the gods must not be contaminated by contact with mundane affairs. His intercession with high heaven on behalf of his subjects must never be troubled or warped by the passions or prejudices of common life. Absolute seclusion thus became a plain essential of the programme. Imperial progresses, visits to temples, audiences—such things ceased to be



NAKAJIMA, NAGASAKI.





## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

part of the sovereign's existence. He remained the source of honours and titles, but an inaccessible source. The great territorial magnates were forbidden to visit the palace, or even to enter the quarter of Kyoto in which it stood. The court nobles might not intermarry with the families of the military chieftains unless the permission of the government in Yedo (Tokyo) had been obtained: these two classes were to be kept rigidly distinct. And never by either the one or the other might the Emperor's face be viewed. Even when the ministers of the Court approached the throne, they saw nothing of their sovereign except the obscure outlines of a dark figure seated behind a curtain of finely woven bamboo. But, though shorn of temporal power, the Emperor gained in mystical dignity. He received periodically the profound homage of the Yedo Regents. From him the living derived their titles; the dead, their apotheosis. In the speech of the people he was always "the Son of Heaven;" in their writings, the line where his name figured might never be invaded by any other ideograph. A magnificent abstraction, the

## J A P A N

possibility of his becoming involved, voluntarily or involuntarily, in any intrigue grew more and more remote in proportion as his godlike dignity obtained fuller appreciation. That was the end contemplated by Ieyasu. Against the head of the secular administration, the Shogun in Yedo, who held his commission direct from the sovereign, every insurrection unsanctioned by the Emperor would be technically rebellion, and every insurgent a traitor to the throne. Ieyasu made it virtually impossible for any one to obtain that sanction or even to seek it. Then he took the map of feudal Japan and reconstructed it with the art of a master in statecraft. Like all things really great, his principle of procedure was simple. Wherever risk could be discerned of coalitions hostile to his house, he inserted a wedge formed of his own partisans. Two hundred and thirty-seven military nobles held practically the whole of Japan in fief. One hundred and fifteen of these were Tokugawa vassals; men on whose fidelity absolute reliance could be placed. The Tokugawa *Shogun* wove these two hundred and thirty-seven fiefs into a

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

pattern such that one of the hundred and fifteen loyal threads always had a place between two of the hundred and twenty-two whose fealty was doubtful or their revolt probable. The operation can be thus described in a single sentence, but its achievement in practice must have been a huge task. Years of contriving were needed and years of adjustment. For of course it will be understood that the work could not be undertaken in the brief manner of mapping out a garden or designing a house. Its progress had to be dependent upon opportunity. The materials becoming accessible fortuitously and at uncertain intervals, their employment can only have been approximately regulated by the general plan. We cannot now affirm that from the time when fief-bestowing power first came into the hands of Ieyasu he used it with full prescience of the vast organisation which his supremacy would ultimately make possible. But we can affirm that the organisation remained as a proof and a buttress of his supremacy. It would appear that his foresight was as clear as the prosecution of his purpose was unerring and

## J A P A N

orderly, and that from the inception to the completion of the work its general evolution suffered no interruption from errors of preconception or confusion of arrangement. He bequeathed to his sons and their sons an immense congeries of principalities, so arranged as to offer automatic resistance to rebellion or anarchy. It does not fall within the scope of this essay to set forth the minutiae of the plan here briefly epitomised. Students of history can find, in any accurate record, full details as to the locality, magnitude and political complexion of each Japanese fief during the Tokugawa era, together with the names, titles and revenues of the feudatories. Mighty lords they were, with incomes varying from nine thousand to a million pounds sterling annually; almost autocratic within the limits of their fiefs; but ruling, on the whole, with moderation and sagacity, through the instrumentality of councillors who restrained their excesses and often, while bowing to their nominal authority, stripped them of its reality as completely as the Emperor himself had been stripped by that other and greater councillor, the *Shogun*.

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

The programme of Ieyasu did not stop at completely segregating the prime source of all authority and paralysing the disloyal actions of the feudal lords by the loyal interactions of his own vassals: it extended also to the provision of other safeguards for lack of which family after family, raised to brief pre-eminence by the genius of an heroic founder, had collapsed incontinently after his death. Fealty in Japan took precedence of every virtue, but, in a certain sense, succumbed readily to ambition. Wife, children, fortune, life,—all these things the loyal vassal used to hold ready for immediate sacrifice on the altar of his lord's interests or safety. Yet he seldom hesitated to usurp his lord's authority, so long as it could be exercised in the latter's name and without impairing the dignity or imperilling the permanence of his house. Illustrations of the latter fact abound in every page of Japanese history. From the *Shogun* down to the factor of the pettiest banneret, all were ready to grasp the substance of their seignior's power provided that the shadow could be left with him. Just as the Soga, the Fujiwara, the

## J A P A N

Taira, the Ashikaga and the Tokugawa stripped the Emperor of administrative authority while acknowledging him as its sole and sacred source, so the Minamoto and the Hojo furnished the spectacle of "shadow-Shoguns," and so, too, the head of nearly every noble family in Japan has been, at some time or other, reduced to the position of a mere *fainéant* while the affairs of his fief were controlled by a vassal. These vicissitudes of sway are not attributed by the Japanese moralist to disloyal impulses on the part of those responsible for them. The code of fealty seems to indicate that not the repository of power but the power itself claimed allegiance and devotion. It was disloyal for a vassal to conspire against his lord and usurp his authority, but it was not disloyal to usurp the authority provided that the manner of its exercise did not imperil the lord's nominal position. The distinction seems subtle, but is easily understood when we remember that the tenure of a fief by any nobleman depended ultimately on his ability to hold it. So long as the affairs of a *daimiate* were duly administered, so long as no catas-

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

troupe invited public attention nor any glaring evidences of misrule forced themselves upon the observation of the Court in Yedo, so long was the *Daimyo's* position assured. Thus it fell out that ostensibly to avert catastrophe or prevent conspicuous misrule, vassals deprived their lord of power and exercised it in his name. Faithless service, from one point of view, but faithful from another, and at all events extenuated by the fact that the deposal of a feudal chief involved the ruin of all his vassals. Ieyasu read history too accurately to imagine that, unless special safeguards were provided, his descendants could be saved from the vicissitudes to which previous dynasties of Shoguns had one after another succumbed. He designated four great houses as the perpetual sources from which a regent (*Gotairo*) should be supplied in the event of a minor's succeeding to the *Shogunate*; he conferred rich estates upon his three youngest sons, and enacted that from their families a *Shogun* should be appointed, failing an heir in the direct line; and he conferred on eighteen vassal houses the privilege of furnishing through-



## J A P A N

out all time occupants of the highest official positions. In this ample plexus of co-operative interests, intrigue or disloyalty could scarcely fail to become entangled and choked to death.

Considering this system as it is here sketched, a defect is easily detected. The feudal chiefs were autocratic within the limits of their fiefs. It is true that their acts were scrutinised from Yedo; that incompetence or lawlessness involved the ruthless confiscation of their estates, and that Ieyasu himself never suffered the ties of consanguinity or the memory of ancestral service to influence the iron rigidity of the justice that he meted out to the military nobles. But for the rest the principle of local autonomy received full recognition. Each territorial noble was practically absolute within the confines of his own domain. His sway extended to matters of finance, education, industry, justice and military preparation. Only the rights of coining money, of maintaining or constructing lines of communication and of declaring or concluding war were reserved to the government in Tokyo. Under such circumstances, the de-

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

velopment of dangerous local independence was an evident danger. Ieyasu obviated it by a device of singular simplicity and thorough efficacy. Each feudal chief was required to spend a part of every second year in Yedo, and to leave his sons there always as hostages for his own fealty. This provision with regard to the sons was abolished in the middle of the seventeenth century, but not until 1862 did the obligation imposed on the *Daimyo* themselves undergo any relaxation. It has been alleged that the conception of the *Sankin Kōtai*—so the practice was called—originated with Iyemitsu, grandson of Ieyasu and third *Shogun* of the Tokugawa line. Careful research shows, however, that Ieyasu formed the plan and that Iyemitsu put it into operation. Its effect upon the prosperity and embellishment of Yedo has been alluded to in a previous chapter. Its effect upon the supremacy of the Tokugawa and the allegiance of the military nobles needs little comment. On the eve of the last struggle that placed him in undoubted possession of the reins of power, Ieyasu found himself at the head of

## J A P A N

an army many of whose captains had to choose between abandoning their families and deserting his cause. Their wives and children had fallen into the hands of their leader's opponents, and could be saved only by the exodus of their husbands and fathers from his camp. He gave them permission to go, and offered them supplies and conduct for the journey. Every man stayed. In truth, from time immemorial the affection of a Japanese *Samurai* for his family had always been subordinated to fidelity toward his feudal chief. With such an experience to guide him, Ieyasu cannot have attached paramount importance to the presence of the territorial nobles' wives and sons in his capital, and we can easily understand why the rule was suffered to lapse by Iyetsuna, the fourth *Shogun*. But the presence of the nobles themselves was another matter. Not merely were they thus brought into constant contact with the head of the administration, through whose grace they held their fiefs; not merely did their attendance in Yedo constitute a sign of their allegiance, — a sign that could be unerringly interpreted, — but

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

Yedo itself became their capital. There they had to take their places and preserve their state among their peers, and the magnificent mansions that they were induced, by a spirit of rivalry, to build, the brilliant equipages that they supported and the costly habits that they cultivated, not only served as a wholesome drain on their resources, but also occupied their attention to the exclusion of politics and other dangerous topics. It was, indeed, a part of the Tokugawa chieftain's plan that the accumulation of wealth in the coffers of individuals should be carefully prevented. In his instructions for the guidance of his successors he laid down the principle that, whenever the opulence of any noble began to attract attraction, the task of carrying out some great public work should be imposed upon him.

This book does not aim at tracing the history of Japan. The task has been essayed already by more than one European or American writer, and achieved perhaps as successfully as is possible without research too profound to be within the capacity of any authors not perfectly familiar with the ideographic script, and too extensive to

## J A P A N

be undertaken without co-operative effort. If the system of the Tokugawa chief has been set down here in some detail, it is because, in the first place, some idea of the structure of Japan's polity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is essential to a clear conception of her modern metamorphosis; and because, in the second, we have in this story an effective refutation of one of the most injurious charges brought against the Japanese by certain foreign critics—the charge that they are without any endowment of organising faculty. A nation's ethnographic index is its history. There alone can we hope to find trustworthy definitions of its people's character and capacities. A stranger who visited Japan in the early Tokugawa days, and who, through bewildering mists of racial prejudice and conservative bias, surveyed the narrow vista of Japanese men and Japanese things falling within the range of his vision, could no more have understood than he could have conceived and elaborated the system that Ieyasu had just inaugurated. To him the empire would have presented itself as an unstable mob of princi-

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

palities, each practically independent of the other, and none linked to the Shogunate in Yedo by any bonds of allegiance other than those that the latter's military supremacy could forge and maintain. He would not have detected the delicate yet tough meshes of the net that Ieyasu had thrown over this congeries of clashing elements and conflicting ambitions. Before everything the absence of a centralising organisation would have forced itself upon his attention. But we of later generations, who see with larger eyes, who have access to the pages of the *Bukke Hatto*, the *Kinchu Komoku* and other documents not open to common scrutiny in the seventeenth century, can appreciate the wonderful organisation that survived the vicissitudes of two hundred and sixty-seven years, and held in submission, concord and tranquillity elements constitutionally and traditionally addicted to rebellion, conflict and disruption.

In appraising the debt that Japan owes to the Tokugawa Shogunate, we find that Ieyasu was not by any means the sole creditor. Iyemitsu, the third *Shogun* of the line, Tsunayoshi, the

## J A P A N

fifth, Yoshimune, the eighth, and Iyenari, the eleventh, were all rulers of conspicuous ability. Upon Iyemitsu devolved the task of putting into full operation the system devised by his grandfather and partially carried out by his father. He brought to the work such energy and talent that history sometimes credits him with being an originator rather than an executor. Tsunayoshi distinguished himself as a patron of literature, though his amours and his extravagance darken the record of his days. Yoshimune stands out amid the growing sensuality and effeminacy of over-peaceful times, a salient type of the ideal *Samurai*, frugal, chivalrous, martial and practical. Iyenari, during a rule of fifty years, carried the system of Ieyasu to its acme of efficiency, and received from the Emperor the highest distinction ever bestowed on a *Shogun* while in office. He died in 1888. Twenty-nine years later the last of the Shoguns abdicated, and the organisation that they had controlled through fourteen generations crumbled away with scarcely a symptom of catastrophe. Never did an edifice so massive, so closely compacted and so vener-

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

able fall with so little fracas or resistance. It is with the causes and instruments of its overthrow that we have now to concern ourselves. Two have already been foreshadowed: the impaired majesty of the Emperor in Kyoto and the untamed might of the two great southern clans, Satsuma and Choshu. These were domestic factors of disturbance. The third factor was foreign.

It has been customary to apply the epithet "anti-foreign" to the Japanese of ancient and mediæval times. "Anti-Christian" would be the proper term. To foreigners, merely in the character of aliens, the Japanese never showed hostility. "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division." Militant Christianity opened intercourse between Japan and the Occident. Militant Christianity rendered intercourse intolerable. But that is a comparatively modern story. Before we relate it, let us look back, for a moment, to remoter eras, the eras when Japan knew nothing of the Occident, and when her intercourse with peoples beyond her own



## J A P A N

borders was wholly that of Oriental with Oriental.

Two routes for that intercourse offered themselves: one northward by Yezo, the Kuriles and Saghalien to the Ainu district and Manchuria; the other westward to China by Korea. The former, apart from the natural difficulties that it presented, was blocked by hostile aboriginal tribes and led to regions offering no inducements for trader or student. The latter, comparatively easy of access, led to the portals of the Middle Kingdom, the greatest of Eastern empires, the centre of enlightenment and power. It was by way of Korea, therefore, that Japan came into touch with the Asiatic continent, and, pending her contact with Europe and America, it was by way of Korea that she received whatever moral and national civilisation the Asiatic continent could furnish. China was the origin of that civilisation, and to Chinese annals—annals that had been regularly compiled for centuries before the art of writing became known in Japan—to Chinese annals we have to look for any trustworthy record of those early days.



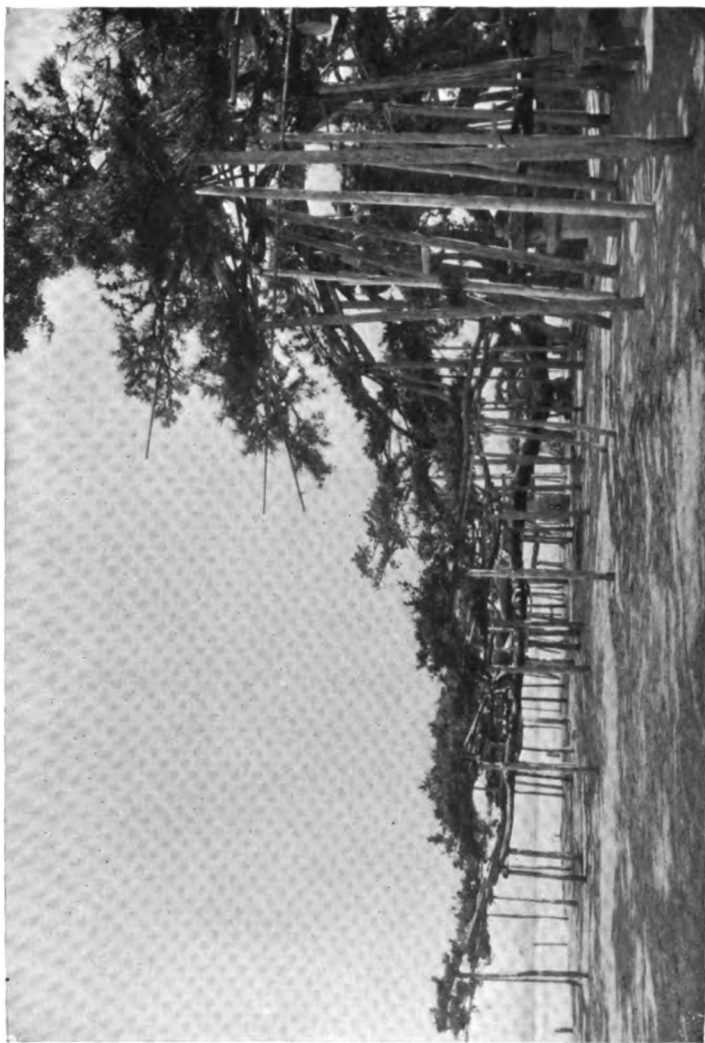
## JAPAN

the only that of Oriental writ-

ing. The intercourse offered them, however, was not toward by Yezo, the Kuriles and the islands of the Aina district and Manchuria: it was toward China by Korea. The geographical position the national difficulties that it presented, and the fact that the aboriginal tribes of the island were offering no inducements for intercourse. The latter, comparatively easy

access to the portals of the Middle Kingdom, the seat of Eastern empires, the centre of the world's commerce and power. It was by way of Korea, therefore, that Japan came into touch with the Asiatic continent, and, pending her contact with Europe and America, it was by way of Korea that she received whatever moral and national civilisation the Asiatic continent could furnish. China was the origin of that civilisation, and to Chinese annals—annals that had been carefully compiled for centuries before the art of printing became known in Japan—to Chinese records we have to look for any trustworthy record of those early days.

[166]



**GIANT PINE TREE AT KARASAKI.**



## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

At the opening of the Christian era Japan was known in China under the name of *Wo*. Scholars have never determined to their entire satisfaction whence this term *Wo* originated. The ideograph employed in writing it signified "yielding," or "subdued," and when the Japanese learned to interpret ideographs they objected to the name. The point may seem trivial. Yet it has special interest. For, according to Chinese records, it was subsequently to the year 671 A. D. that the Japanese repudiated the term. An embassy was sent by them in that year to congratulate the Emperor of China on a recent conquest, and thereafter their growing knowledge of the ideographic script induced them to change the name of their country to *Nippon* (Chinese *Jihpên*), or the land of the rising sun. It appears scarcely fair to infer from this record, as some scholars have inferred, that Japan had no written annals prior to the end of the seventh century. Having enjoyed tolerably frequent intercourse with China from the year 238 A. D., she cannot be supposed to have remained entirely without

## J A P A N

knowledge of the ideographic script. It is true, as we have already seen, that the most ancient written annals possessed by Japan, namely, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-gi*, date from 711 A. D. and 720 A. D., respectively. But it is also true that, if the Japanese were sufficiently intimate with the course of events on the Asiatic continent to take international note of an incident like a victory achieved in Manchuria by the Emperor of China, they must have had some familiarity with the products of Chinese civilisation. The exact degree of their familiarity will probably remain forever obscure; but reason forbids us to suppose that over four centuries of intercourse could have failed to teach them anything of the most useful lesson that China had to impart. It is certain, however, that they did not make very intelligent or accurate use of the knowledge possessed by them. They failed to appreciate the value of contemporary history until the eighth century, and they then set themselves to manufacture annals which, whatever nucleus of fact or fragments of ancient belief they embody, must be ranked rather with

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

the legendary ethnology of the Celts and Gaels than with sober recitals of actual events. In truth there is more than a fanciful analogy between the Dé Danann, the invading deities of Irish tradition, and the semi-mortal divinities of Japanese mythology; between Ogma, of the sunlike face, and Izanagi, from whose eye the goddess of the orb issued; between Neit, the deity of battle, and Susa-no-o, the impetuous divinity; between Ana, the mother of fire (Aed), and Izanami, who died in giving birth to that indispensable element. It is a pity to be compelled to relegate such large sections of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-gi* to the ranks of myth and fable. The invasion of Korea by the Empress Jingo, for example, contains so much of the picturesque and the romantic that the coldest critic feels a pang of remorse as he draws his pen through the story. The good old chroniclers were so naïve and yet so artful. Consider the omen that they imagined for the warlike lady's guidance. She went fishing for trout; heaven prospered her sport, and thenceforth to all time only a female angler could



## J A P A N

tempt the fish in that river of Matsura. Consider, too, her speech to her troops as, battle-axe in hand, she stood within their three-sided formation on the Hizen coast:—"If the drums are beaten out of time and the signal-flags waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved in the army. Too eager a desire for booty will lead to your being taken prisoners. Despise not the enemy though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him though his numbers be many. Spare not the violent; slay not the submissive. The victors shall surely be rewarded, sooner or later; those that run away shall surely be punished."<sup>1</sup> Was ever address more practical, pithy and pregnant delivered to soldiers on the eve of battle? Then we have a gentle deity and a fierce deity accompanying the expedition, the former to protect the Empress, the latter to lead the flotilla; we have a tide-wave that carries the ships across the sea and, sweeping inland, terrifies the King of Korea into unresisting surrender; we have the prudent monarch swearing a poetical oath that his allegiance to

<sup>1</sup> Aston: "Early Japanese History."

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

his conqueror shall last until the sun rises in the west and sets in the east; until the stream of the Amnok flows backward to its source, and until the pebbles from its bed ascend to the sky and become stars; and we have the Empress setting up at the King's gate her staff and spear, to stand there for five centuries. Alas! the whole tale must be blotted out. It abounds with inherent evidences of fiction, and when stripped of its patriotic embroidery, offers no tangible remnant except the bare hypothesis either that an embassy despatched by the Empress *via* Korea to the Chinese Court, which event certainly took place, was magnified by tradition into a warlike expedition against Korea; or that the writers of the *Nihon-gi*, as uncertain of their chronology as they were of their facts, combined into one grand and brilliant operation various comparatively insignificant raids made at later eras upon the coasts of Korea by Japanese adventurers. Much scholarship has been devoted in modern times to the elucidation of the history of Japan, China and Korea during the centuries immediately pre-

## J A P A N

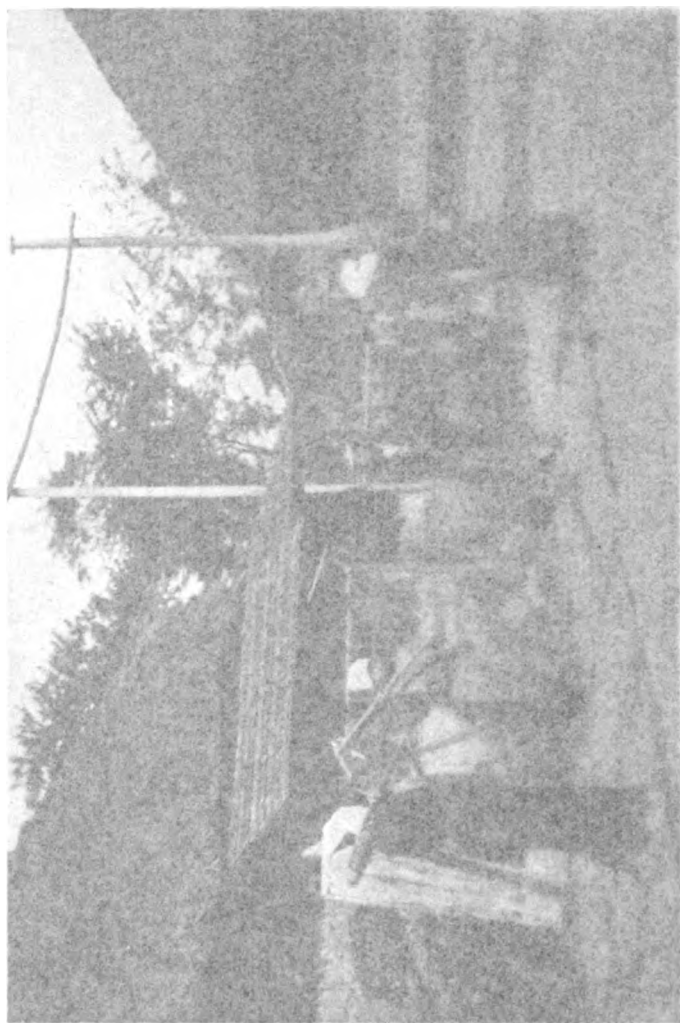
ceding and immediately succeeding the commencement of the Christian era, and much patience is needed to thread an intelligent path through the maze of evidence that these erudite sinologues have collected from sources difficult of access. But, after all, we are really interested in discovering two things only: first, of what nature were Japan's relations with the Asiatic continent in those eras; and, secondly, of what nature was the civilisation that she found there. As to the former question, there is abundant testimony to show that the Japanese, partly by military prowess and partly by friendly persuasion, established themselves, virtually as conquerors, in the southwestern section of Korea at a very early date, probably as early as the second century of the Christian era. Thence they made repeated raids upon the southeastern section, and though the measure of success achieved by them is uncertain, there can be no doubt about the fact that the spirit of foreign conquest had already become a potent national influence in Japan. The peninsula of Korea was then divided into three States:

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

Peh-tsi, on the southwest (called Hiakusai or Mimana by the Japanese); Shinra, on the south-east, and Kao-keu-li (afterwards called Kao-li or Ko-li), on the north. We have no concern with the story of these States' antecedents, but the habits and customs of the people that inhabited them are worth a moment's attention, in view of the heavy debt that Japanese civilisation is generally supposed to owe to Korea. Chinese annals are here our guide. From them we learn that the people of northern Korea, in the first century of our era, were strong and hardy, of honest disposition, and not disposed to plunder or harry their neighbours. Their towns were surrounded by stockades, and they had palaces, granaries, stores and prisons. For arms they used bows and arrows, swords and spears; in eating and drinking they had dishes and platters, and at meals they observed canons of polite etiquette. In the closing month of the year they held a great festival in reverence of heaven; feasting, singing and dancing went on for several days. This was called "worshipping the Dawn." While the festival was in progress,

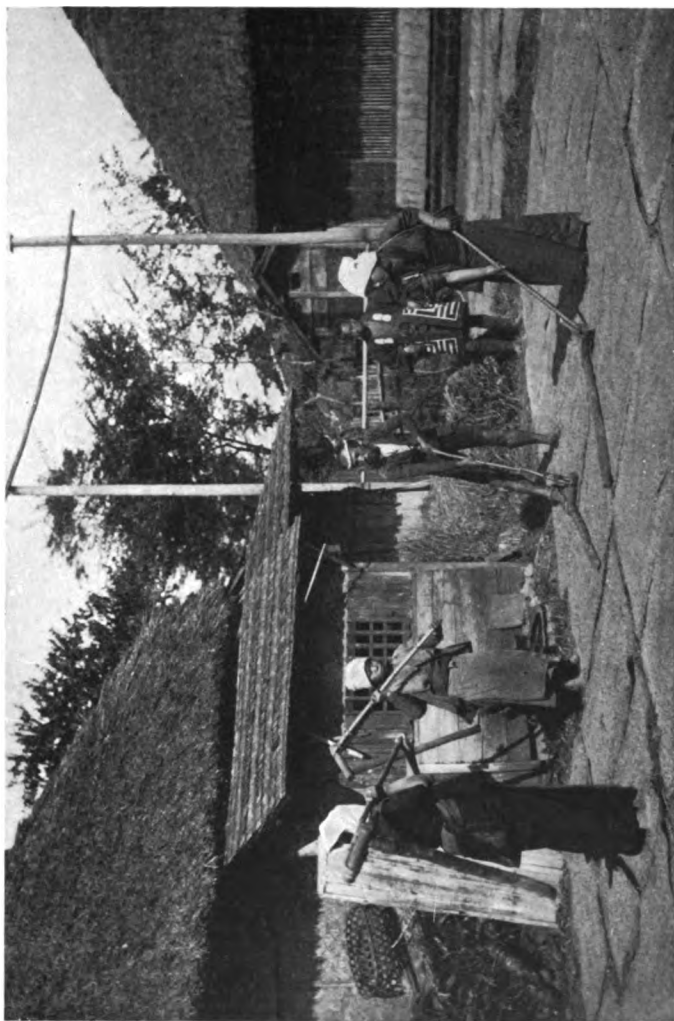
## J A P A N

the criminal courts did not sit, and prisoners were released. Before engaging in war, they addressed supplications to heaven, and drew divinations from the hoof of a sacrificial ox. In travelling they made no distinction between day and night, and they had such a love of singing and humming that the sound of their voices was incessant. Prompt and severe in punishing crime, they reduced to the rank of slaves the males and females of an offender's family; compelled robbers to make twelvefold atonement; put to death men and women convicted of immorality; visited wifely unchastity with the heaviest penalties; and exposed the corpses of persons executed for crime. If an elder brother died, his wife was married by his younger brother. The dead were enclosed in single coffins for interment, and at the obsequies of great folk people were often buried alive, as many as a hundred at a time, homicides being reserved for that fate. The King's remains were put into a jade casket; so, at least, we read, though it is plain that unless the cremated ashes alone were thus treated, a jade receptacle



## JAPAN

and robes did not suit, and put on the robes of a Prince even though various articles of clothing were taken from the hoot of a scaffold on the spot. They make no distinction between the sexes, and they had such a love of music and dancing that the sound of a drum was very sweet. Prompt and severe in punishment, they reduced to the rank of slaves the males and females of an obnoxious family, even had robbers to make twofold punishment; put to death men and women convicted of immorality; visited wholly undisturbed with the heaviest penalties; and exposed the corpses of persons executed for crime. If an elder brother died, his wife was married by his younger brother. The dead were enclosed in single coffins for interment, and at the obsequies of great folk people were often buried alive, as many as a hundred at a time, homicide being reserved for that fate. The King's remains were put into a jade casket; so, at least, we read, though it is plain that unless the cremated ashes alone were thus treated, a jade receptacle



THRESHING GRAIN.





## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

sufficiently large would have been out of the question. It appears, also, that his Majesty had an engraved seal, and that when officials were sent on missions they wore embroidered wrappers and had ornaments of gold and silver about their waists.

This description applies to one only of the tribes inhabiting the Korean peninsula eighteen centuries ago. Of another tribe dwelling a little farther south the record says that the residences of their high officials were marked by standards; that they had masters of ceremonies, and officers charged with the duty of receiving State guests and superintending the stores of cloth; that they were cleanly in their habits but licentious; that they organised dancing and singing parties in the evening and at night; that they sacrificed to supernatural beings, the gods of the land and to the stars, and that they held a great festival, called the "eastern league," in honour of heaven, in the tenth month, when, also, they made pilgrimages to a sacred cave in the east of their country; that on occasions of public meeting they wore garments of embroidered silk with

## J A P A N

ornaments of gold and silver, and that their superintendent of the cloth-stores and their treasurer carried on their heads a hat-hood without a back, junior officers of the same class wearing pointed caps of soft material. Unlike the tribe spoken of above, these Koreans had no prisons ; they did not burden the State with the support of criminals, but killed them off-hand after due trial, making slaves of their wives and children. A bridegroom always went to live at the house of the bride, giving himself no concern to provide a home until a child was born and had attained to full growth. Funerals were conducted with much pomp, a profusion of gold, silver and other valuables being employed, and over the grave a large tumulus was raised and planted with fir and cypress. As for the disposition of the people, they were said to be bold, strong, fierce, impetuous, inured to fighting and addicted to plundering forays.

It is impossible to read these descriptions without recognising the origin, or, at any rate, the counterparts, of many customs to which no student of mediæval or even modern Japan is a

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

stranger. Later on, that is to say, toward the end of the eleventh century, evidences of further progress in artistic manufacture are recorded. A Chinese review of art during the period 1074-1167 speaks of "graceful willow-leaf fans made in Kao-li, with such curious graining that the poets of the day were much exercised to account for the material;" of "wonderful cushions, or mattresses, made of hair," or fur; and of "excellent guitars, having frames of snake-skin and beechwood, ivory keys, and the King's portrait painted on them." We have no proof that close intercourse, whether amicable or enforced, existed in the early era between Japan and the Koreans in the north of the peninsula; but, on the other hand, it is probable that Japanese embassies, *en route* for the Chinese Court, passed, from time to time, right through Korea and, crossing the Yalu, made their way along the highroad *via* modern Newchwang to the frontier of the Middle Kingdom. In their necessarily slow progress these officials must have become familiar with whatever elements of refinement and civilisation were to be observed in the countries through which they passed.

## J A P A N

Turning to the northeast of the peninsula, we find people described as simple, straightforward, bold, stalwart, skilled in the use of the spear and in fighting on foot, people whose costume, mode of life and manner of eating resembled those of the second tribe described above. They buried their dead in large sepulchres as much as a hundred feet long, lined with wood and having an opening at one end only. After time had reduced the corpse to a skeleton, the bones were collected and placed in a shell, all the members of a family having one shell in common. Memorial tablets of carved wood were erected. The section of this tribe that inhabited the region bordering the Yalu River seems to have led an uneasy existence, for the piratical raids of their neighbours from the opposite shore often compelled them to hide in mountain caves throughout the summer.

On the same eastern shore of the peninsula, but living further south, were people who, since the twelfth century before the Christian era, had enjoyed the benefit of Chinese administrative, agricultural and industrial instruction. They were familiar with forms of etiquette; with principles

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

of justice; with tillage; with sericulture; and with the "eight fundamental laws." They never robbed each other. Their houses had no doors, nor their windows shutters. Their women were chaste and faithful. They used dishes and platters for eating. There were no beggars. An article of dress common to both sexes was a frilled collar. They venerated the mountains and streams as landmarks to be held always sacred. People of the same family name did not intermarry. When any one fell sick or died in a house, it was abandoned and another residence constructed. They knew how to cultivate hemp and could weave fabrics. They studied the stars, and by the signs thus obtained they predicted the nature of the harvest. Trespasses by one community on the lands of another were punished by fines of slaves or cattle. A life had to be given for a life. Heaven was worshipped in the tenth month, with wine-drinking, dancing and singing by day and night. The tiger also was worshipped as a spirit. They fought stoutly. From their land came the celebrated "sandal bows of Loh-lang," and they were renowned for

## J A P A N

the use of spears some thirty feet long, wielded by the combined strength of several men. These were the inhabitants of Shinra, known in Japan as Shiragi, people against whom, as we shall presently see, the Japanese frequently measured their strength.

We come, finally, to the southwestern district of the Korean peninsula—Peh-tsi, the Hiakusai, Mimana or Kudara of the Japanese. Here, too, Chinese settlers inspired the civilisation of the seventy-eight communities inhabiting the region. Indeed the name “Hiyakusai” was derived from the fact that a number of Chinese nobles—traditionally put at a hundred (*hiaku*)—accompanied a fugitive prince thither in the beginning of the first century. This was the region with which Japan had most frequent intercourse. Its people, according to Chinese records compiled during the first two centuries of the Christian era, understood how to till the ground, rear silkworms and weave cloth. They produced chestnuts “as large as pears,” and had fowls with tails five feet long. They were not nomads, but did not live in cities. Their houses were of mud, shaped like a

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

tumulus, with a door at the top. They lacked refinement; did not kneel in token of obeisance; drew no distinctions of age or sex in matters of etiquette; attached no value to gold, jewels, embroidery or rugs; did not ride on horses or oxen; used pebbles and pearls for tricking out their garments and for necklaces and eardrops; wore cloth robes and straw sandals, but no head covering except coiled chignons; were robust and brave, "and the young men, when exerting themselves to build a house, would take a rope, run it through the skin of the back, and trail a log by it, amid cheers for their sturdiness."<sup>1</sup> After planting the crops in the fifth month, and after reaping them in the tenth, festivals were held in honour of the deities, the feasting, drinking, dances and songs lasting throughout the night, dozens of men marking the cadence of the music with their feet. Each community had a "heaven prince" to direct its festivals. There was a sanctuary for offenders, at which a pole stood, and from it were suspended a bell and drum for worshipping the spirits. The houses stood in stock-

<sup>1</sup> These details are taken from Parker's translation of the *Han-shu*.



## J A P A N

aded enclosures; the people rode in carts drawn by horses or oxen; had proper marriage ceremonies; made way for each other on the road; used iron as a medium of exchange; were fond of singing, dancing and drumming, and used to flatten their children's heads by pressing them with stones. Each community had its own headman. It is added that the southern shore of this district being near Japan, some of the people tattooed their bodies. Habits and customs differing more or less from the above are attributed to a few tribes living in the same district, but they need not be detailed here, as they find their counterpart in other regions of the peninsula, and are consequently included in the references already made to the northern and eastern sections.

What a debt we owe to these Chinese annalists; these patient, matter-of-fact, minute annalists, who find nothing too trivial to be recorded, and who seem to have possessed an intuitive appreciation of the value that future generations would attach to their labours! And what a debt we owe to the ideographic script

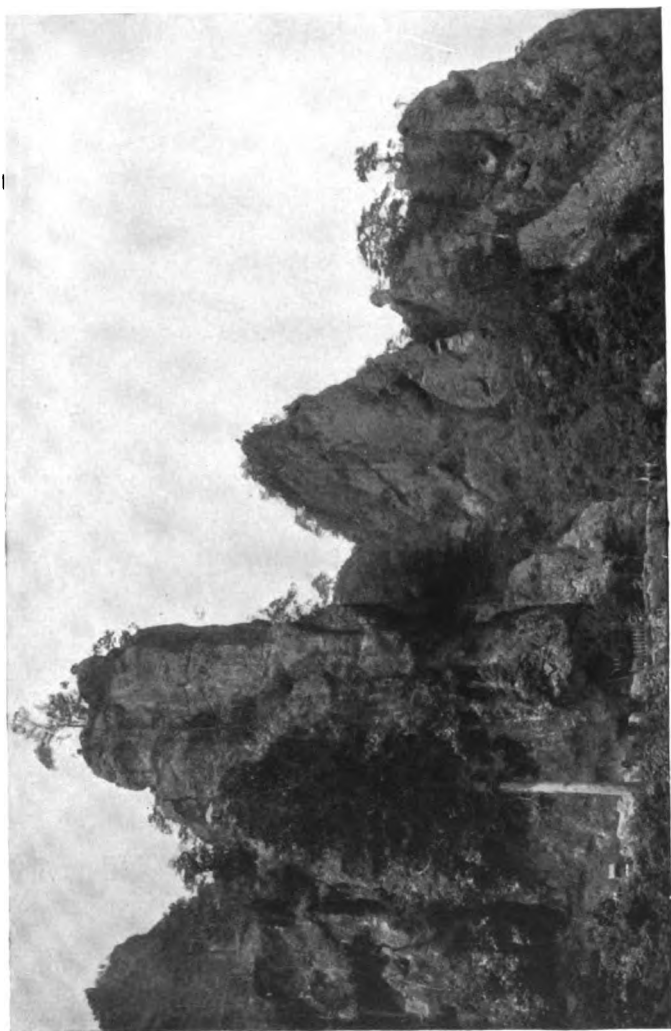


100

## JAPAN

And at times, the people rode in carts drawn by two oxen; and proper marriage dowries were made, one way for each owner of the land. There was a freedom of exchange for slaves, of clothing, dancing and drumming, and of the like. The children's heads by passing through the stones. Each community had its own laws. It is added that the southern side of the district being near Japan, some of the people were of Chinese blood. Habits and customs of foreign origin, from the above we attribute to a few tribes living in the same district, but they need not be detailed here, as they find no counterpart in other regions of the peninsula, and are consequently included in the references already made to the northern and eastern sections.

What a debt we owe to these Chinese annalists; their patient, matter-of-fact, minute annalists, who find nothing too trivial to be recorded, and who seem to have possessed an intuitive appreciation of the value that future generations would attach to their labours! And now a debt we owe to the ideographic script



MIOGI MOUNTAIN.



## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

also! A clumsy, uncivilised form of writing it is called by folks that enjoy the convenience of an alphabet; a form of writing that develops the mechanics of memory at the expense of the intellectual and ideal faculties, and cruelly handicaps far-Eastern peoples in the race for knowledge. That is all very true, but there is one signal benefit standing to the credit of the ideographs: the terrible toil of acquiring them and using them makes their script so precious in Chinese eyes that to destroy a page of written matter has always been deemed a sacrilege. How much has that fact contributed to the preservation of the Middle Kingdom's annals? As to their accuracy, there is necessarily room for scepticism. But in this particular context we may make a slight digression, not merely for the sake of establishing the credit of the historians quoted above, but also to throw additional light on a subject discussed in a previous chapter. Inhabiting, in remote ages, a part of eastern Asia now identified as the modern Kirin and the Russian promontory of Primorsk, was a tribe called the Yih-lou, declared by ethnologists

## J A P A N

to be the ancestors of the Manchus. If there be any solid ground for the theory which regards northwestern Asia as the *provenance* of the pit-dwelling autochthons whom the Ainu, driven northward from Japan proper by the invading Malays and Mongolians, found in Yezo and the Kuriles, then surely these primeval Manchus, the Yih-lou, ought to have some connection with the matter, for from the shores of the Primorsk promontory they could look across to the most northerly part of the chain of islands having Nippon for its central and principal link. Let us hear, then, what the same Chinese historians say about the Yih-lou: "They had the five cereals and hempen cloth. They produced red jade and fine sables. They had not a supreme head, but every settlement had its chieftain, residing among the hills and forests. The climate was exceedingly cold, and they always inhabited holes dug in the ground, the depth marking status in the occupant; great families having as many as nine connecting ladders. They were fond of breeding swine, eating their flesh and using their skins as clothes. In winter they all

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

smeared themselves with swine fat to a thickness of several lines, so as to keep off the wind and cold, but in summer they went naked, all but a foot of cloth covering before and behind. They were abominably stinking and dirty. Most of them were courageous and robust, and lived in inaccessible mountains. They were excellent bowmen, and could make sure of hitting a man's eye. Their bows were four feet long, and as strong as a cross-bow. They used buckthorn for their arrows, making them 1.8 feet long, tipping them with green stone, and poisoning them so that instant death resulted from being struck. They were hardy boatmen, and fond of freebooting raids, so that the neighbouring States, while repelling their attacks, were never able to bring them under control. They used neither bowls nor platters for eating and drinking, and their laws and customs were without system to the utmost degree."<sup>1</sup> Here, beyond any shadow of reasonable doubt, are the Koro-pok-guru, or cave-dwellers of Yezo and the Kuriles, whose pit-homes

<sup>1</sup> "The Manchu Tribes on the Korean Frontier;" Parker in the "Proceedings of the Asiatic Society."



## J A P A N

may still be seen in the northern islands of the Japanese chain. The Chinese historian brings us face to face with a people whom we immediately recognise, though they are no longer identifiable by comparison with their modern descendants. Even upon a trace of the Ainu we light in the records of these conscientious annalists, for we are told that in the year 701 A.D. an envoy from Shinra, *en route* for China, was carried out of his course by a storm, and, drifting to "Long-Beard Island," married a princess who "had several scores of hairs on her chin." It is possible, therefore, to be tolerably certain about the kind of peoples that the Japanese found in the Korean peninsula when they crossed over to it nineteen hundred years ago. And that they repeatedly made the voyage there cannot be the slightest doubt. The Empress Jingo's expedition and its signal results must, indeed, be dismissed as myths, but an examination of Chinese and Korean records shows that, from fifty years before the Christian era until six and a half centuries after it, Japanese military expeditions or Japanese peaceful embassies repeatedly passed

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

over to the peninsula; that the southwestern district, Peh-tsi, or Kudara, as the Japanese called it, was virtually under the control of the hardy invaders, and that they endeavoured again and again, but without signal success, to extend their "sphere of influence" to Shinra, on the south-eastern coast. Against the northern district, Kao-keu-li or Kao-li, they do not appear to have undertaken anything serious, and assuredly they never established any strong footing there. That they claimed, however, to have conquered the whole peninsula is attested by contemporary annals—annals compiled not by the Japanese themselves, but by the Chinese.

China, it must be premised, had already begun to assume, in those remote eras, the position of lofty superiority from which the force of events in modern times has so ruthlessly ousted her. She was rapidly learning to regard herself as the centre of the universe, the fountain of majesty and might. Hence the construction that she put upon the visits of embassies from countries beyond her borders was distinctly subjective. To her such acts on the part of her neighbours

## J A P A N

were evidences of vassalage, tributes to her own indisputable supremacy; whereas, by the States whose envoys travelled to her court, no purpose was entertained except to secure immunity from the aggressive forays which in early ages every Oriental nation, and, for the matter of that, every Occidental also, organised without scruple against adjacent countries whenever the lust of conquest or of plunder overtook it. Tested by the unromantic logic of nineteenth-century international law, these pretensions of China's have proved as unsubstantial as the basis upon which they originally rested. She herself, indeed, when confronted by the inconvenient responsibilities devolving upon a suzerain according to European handbooks of diplomacy, has not hesitated to descend from her pedestal in the clouds and to describe these visits of gift-bearing ambassadors as "simple interchanges of friendly courtesy." But her ancient annalists, not foreseeing the rudely practical tendencies of future ages, classed all envoys as tribute-bearers and their countries as vassal States, in a moral if not in a material sense. A correction on that

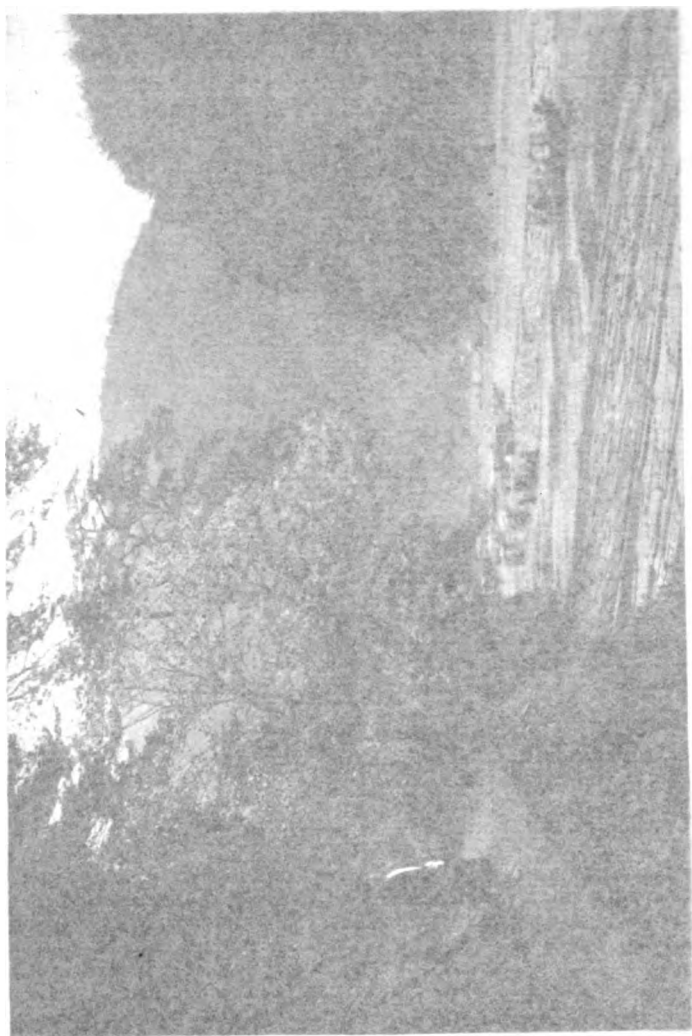
## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

account must be applied constantly to their records.

Thus, when (238 A. D.) the third Japanese embassy reached the Chinese capital, it is spoken of as having begged permission from the ruler of northwestern Korea to proceed to the Emperor's Court for the purpose of paying respect and offering duty. It was an embassy from the Empress Jingo. Why did she send it? A hundred and twenty-eight years previously the northwestern part of Korea had been overrun by Chinese forces and divided into four districts, each under the government of a Chinese Marquess. But between that date and the despatch of Jingo's envoys there had been no fresh display of Chinese prowess in southeastern Manchuria. The explanation is to be sought in Japan's internal conditions. From the middle to the close of the second century civil war prevailed without intermission. Twice in earlier time — namely, in 57 A. D. and 107 A. D. — envoys from Japan had visited the Chinese Court. On the first occasion they received from the ruler of China a gold seal and a ribbon.

## J A P A N

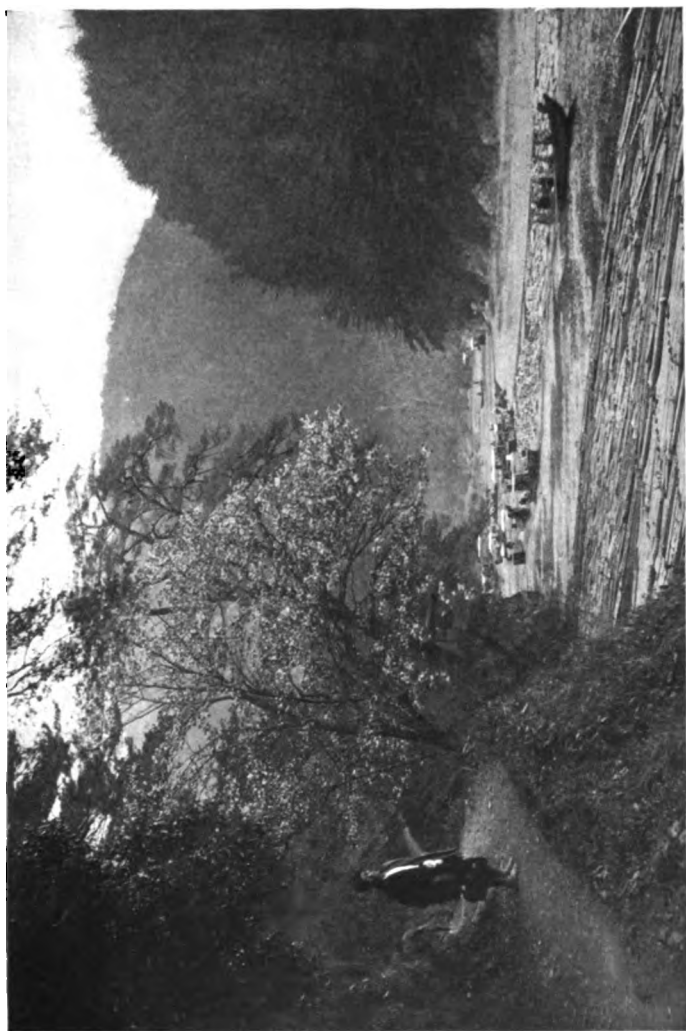
On the second occasion they presented a hundred and sixty "living persons." Probably these neighbourly demonstrations were unavoidably interrupted by domestic disturbances in Japan, and were renewed by the Empress Jingo so soon as her attention could be diverted to foreign affairs. It is a pity that we know so little of this remarkable woman. Chinese historians say that she was old and unmarried at the time of the coming of her envoys; that she possessed skill in magic arts by which she deluded her people; that she had a thousand female attendants, but suffered no man to see her face except one official who served her meals and acted as a means of communication with her subjects; that she dwelt in a palace with lofty pavilions surrounded by a stockade and guarded by soldiers. Did she, then, owe nothing to the graces that have elsewhere rendered female sway endurable? It is a hopeless task to disinter her real personality from the dust of ages and the overgrowth of myths and traditions. We shall presently see what account the Chinese had to give of her nation and its customs. Here, however,



VIEW OF KANAWHA RIVER FROM CANAL

## JAPAN

On this occasion they presented a large number of "ambassadors and persons." Probably these persons and negotiations were unavocably determined by the exigencies in Japan, and not by the Empress Jingō so soon as we are inclined to think. She could be diverted to foreign affairs only so far as we know so little of this reign. The Chinese historians say that she was still unmarried at the time of the coming of her envoys; that she possessed skill in magic art by which she deluded her people and that she had a thousand female attendants, but allowed no man to see her face except one child who served her meals and acted as a means of communication with her subjects; that she dwelt in a palace with lofty pavilions surrounded by a stockade and guarded by soldiers. Did she, then, owe nothing to the graces that have elsewhere rendered female sway endurable? It is a hopeless task to disinter her real personality from the dust of ages and the overgrowth of myths and traditions. We shall presently see what account the Chinese had to give of her nation and its customs. Here, however,



VIEW OF KATSURA RIVER NEAR ARASHIYAMA.





## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

reverting to the subject of Japan and Korea, we note that time and again—how often there are no means of accurately determining—Japanese expeditions had been directed against Korea previously to Jingo's reign, and that during the third and fourth centuries not only was Japan's influence paramount in the southwest of the peninsula, but the weight of her hand had been frequently felt in the southeast also. A measure of the position she had gained for herself is afforded by the Chinese annals of 421 A. D., where an envoy from Japan describes his sovereign as "commissioner and general administrator" of the military affairs of six Korean States, including Shinra. This title was not fully recognised by the Chinese Emperor. But the Japanese do not appear to have been much concerned about his Celestial Majesty's severely accurate condemnation. Twenty-two years later (443 A. D.) they sent another envoy, who adopted the same style for his master, and yet again and again at comparatively brief intervals the ceremony was repeated, China always extending practical, if partial, recognition to the titles thus advanced.

## J A P A N

One of these embassies (478 A. D.) is specially noteworthy. We have a transcript, professing to be verbatim, of the message carried by the ambassador from his sovereign:

“From ancient times until now my ancestors have girded on their armour and travelled, regardless of ease and comfort, over hill and valley to the conquest of fifty-five States of hairy men in the East, and the subduing of sixty-six States of miscellaneous barbarians in the West. They have conquered ninety-five States north of the sea. The blessings of civilisation have been spread. The country has been enlarged in every direction. Successive generations of royal ancestors have been free from unpropitious years. They passed through Peh-tsi [the southwestern section of Korea] and equipped their boats. But Kao-Keu-li [the northern section of Korea], destitute of principle, was covetous of annexing it. . . .

“I am about to raise a great army to defeat that enterprise. . . . I have ventured to borrow the princely style with rights equivalent to those of the three Sz. I am also fain to bor-

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

row all the rest with the view to stimulate my loyalty.”<sup>1</sup>

The “rights” here referred to are briefly those of supreme rule. There can be little question that the message from Japan was committed to writing by a Chinese scribe, and we are consequently forbidden to draw any hard-and-fast deductions from the forms of speech employed. But that China now admitted the validity of the titles claimed, including the appellation “commissioner and general in military charge of the six Korean States,” and that she confirmed them by Imperial manifesto, seem to be historical facts. Probably the Japanese knew nothing of this manifesto, nor had contemplated anything of the kind. It was simply China’s method of building up, with purely subjective materials, the edifice of suzerainty that ultimately assumed such colossal dimensions and, however shadowy in fact, contributed not a little in theory to the stability of the Middle Kingdom’s throne.

We need not pursue these details. The general fact is sufficient, namely, that in the

<sup>1</sup> “Ma Twan-lin’s Account of Japan.” Translated by Parker.

## J A P A N

early centuries of our era Japan was strong enough to impose her yoke upon a considerable section of Korea. But she did not prove strong enough to keep it there. Unable to make head against reprisals undertaken by the neighbouring State of Shinra, the Japanese officials, who either administered the affairs of Peh-tsi or held high office in the administration, were obliged to fly over sea. That happened in the year 562 A. D., according to Japanese annals, when Kimmei sat on the throne of Japan. Peh-tsi, from which his people had been expelled, seems to have been regarded by this emperor as Calais was regarded by ten generations of mediæval Englishmen. With his dying breath he enjoined upon his successor the duty of recovering the lost dominion. It is imaginable that the Japanese of so remote an epoch perceived, as their descendants sixteen centuries later were destined to perceive, that their national integrity depended upon adopting such measures as should prevent the Korean peninsula's becoming a stepping-stone in the southward progress of an aggressive continental power; or were they moved by

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

warlike impulses only? At all events, Kimmei's last injunctions were not neglected. His immediate successor struck a strong blow to reinstate Japanese authority in Peh-tsi, but failed. The disaster is traced in dim outlines by his country's historians. They tell us merely that a great expedition was equipped and despatched to the peninsula, but that neither could Peh-tsi be recovered nor Shinra subdued. If, however, the dimensions of the defeat are concealed, the spirit it aroused finds clear expression. Thenceforth the re-conquest of Peh-tsi became a cardinal object of ambition in Japan, and just a hundred years later another army of invasion left the shores of Kyūshū. It was convoyed by a hundred vessels of war, and the Emperor himself superintended the preparations. The Koreans, assisted by a strong Chinese force, drove back this Japanese armada, and, moreover, showed such prowess in the struggle that the defeated sovereign definitely resolved to adopt a defensive instead of an offensive policy; to leave Korea to its fate and to establish friendly relations with China. Little children in Japan

[189]

## J A P A N

sing of this Emperor Tenchi as the most benevolent of sovereigns, who, to show his sympathy with his impoverished people, lived in a rude hut through the roof of which the rain beat upon the Imperial head. But to warlike critics in generations nearer to his era his name and that of Mimana (Peh-tsi) sounded as did the names of Mr. Gladstone and Majuba Hill in the ears of British conservatives a few years ago.

The wisdom of Tenchi's choice is nevertheless easily comprehended. One of the only three dynasties that ever succeeded in extending and maintaining their sway over the whole of China was then firmly seated upon the throne. The *Tang* had come into power at the beginning of the seventh century. Among the most crushing disasters suffered by their immediate predecessors had been a defeat at the hands of the northern Koreans of K<sup>h</sup>ao-li. Out of a host of over three hundred thousand Chinese braves that marched through southern Manchuria to the conquest of the peninsula, only twenty-seven thousand recrossed the Liao River in their homeward flight. The *Tang* rulers determined to crush

## TOKUGAWA DYNASTY

the formidable enemy by whom such a defeat had been inflicted on the Middle Kingdom under the sway of the Sui. They sent an immense host, partly over sea from Chefoo, partly by the great military road through Newchwang and along the northern littoral of the Yellow Sea. Ostensibly, the purpose of the expedition was to aid Shinra against Kao-li and Peh-tsi. In reality, it was destined to reduce Korea to the status of a Chinese dependency. The invaders were completely successful. The King of Shinra became Chinese Viceroy of the peninsula and of southeastern Manchuria. Against such an enemy as China under the *Tang*, Japan, already weakened by rivalry among her leading nobles, and just then entering upon the long series of intrigues and internecine struggles that attended the growth of a military feudalism, could not hope to contend successfully. Tenchi's decision was a necessity rather than a choice, and more than nine centuries were destined to elapse before any strong effort could be made to reverse it.

The interest of these early relations between Japan and Korea is not simply ethnographical



## J A P A N

or historical; it is political also. The Korean peninsula occupied Japan's attention during the first seven centuries of her authenticated existence as a nation; it occupied her attention so soon as ever her military strength became available, in the hands of the *Taiko*, for some purpose other than the quelling of domestic feuds; it occupied her attention when she entered upon her career of modern progress; it occupies her attention to-day. Destiny seems to have decreed that she shall not rule the problem out of her national life. If we would trace her probable path in the future, we must look for prominent landmarks along the track that she has trodden in the past,—and Korea is the most prominent of them all.

## V

### JAPAN'S DEBT TO CONTINENTAL NEIGHBOURS IN EARLY ERAS

**T**HE CONTINUOUS DESPATCH of friendly missions from Japan to the Chinese Court in very early times is certainly a notable feature of her history. Toward her other neighbour, Korea, she displayed, as we have seen, a very different disposition, establishing herself as a conqueror in one section of the peninsula, and attacking with persistent vehemence the section that she could not subdue. No less than twenty-five times during the first five centuries of the Christian era we find her forces raiding the coasts or besieging the cities of Shinra, and though some of these warlike essays were probably mere raids, others assumed the dimensions of national efforts. One deserves independent reference as illustrating the

## J A P A N

spirit of the Japanese people at the time when they first appear on the stage of credible history.

In the two hundred and forty-ninth year before the Christian era, a Shinra statesman, speaking in the presence of a Japanese envoy, used insulting language about the latter's sovereign. An invasion of Shinra promptly ensued. The indiscreet official surrendered himself to the invaders, hoping to avert the sufferings of war from his country; but the Japanese burned him, and then laid siege to the capital of Shinra. Korean annals, not Japanese, contain the story. It may have been distorted in the telling, but we are at least justified in inferring from it that any slight toward their sovereign provoked the Japanese of that era to fierce resentment. Such a disposition has been common in all ages to independent tribes or nations, but not to tribes or nations that habitually despatched of their own free volition embassies of amity to courts beyond the seas. The Chinese have never invaded Japan, nor ever betrayed any disposition to molest her. In the complete absence of tangible exhibitions of military prowess, which were the only univer-

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

sally recognised passports to international respect two thousand years ago, the homage that China received from her island neighbour bears eloquent testimony to the position she held in the East. The burning of the Korean patriot and the siege of his country's capital preceded by less than fifty years the rise of the Han Dynasty in China and the completion of those magnificent engineering works at the Shensi metropolis that still excite the world's wonder.

In everything that makes for national greatness China towered gigantic above the heads of all other far-Eastern States in the era of which we write, and if she construed their embassies as tokens of vassalage, such an interpretation was certainly not without some warrant from her point of view, whatever violence it may have done to the intentions of her neighbours. What we have to note, however, is that Japan's first despatch of envoys was purely voluntary: China had not suggested the step, nor shown any disposition to resent Japan's isolation. In fact, it does not appear that the people of the Middle Kingdom had very clear ideas about Japan's condition, or even her exist-

## J A P A N

ence, until a time that may be called mediæval when compared with the antiquity of their own annals. One of the least romantic of sinologues has declared that Chinese history cannot be regarded as trustworthy when it treats of events prior to the ninth century before Christ. Such an age is surely sufficient. The first Japanese embassy was despatched to Loyang (modern Honan) in the year 57 A.D. Therefore China had credible written annals for hundreds of years before her official intercourse with her island neighbour commenced. Did she know anything of Japan previous to that event? The Japanese assign the reign of their first mortal sovereign, Jimmu, to the period from 660 to 585 B. C. His predecessors were heavenly gods or terrestrial semi-divinities; the incidents of their careers, fabulous and supernatural. The first intelligible reference made to the Japanese islands by Chinese annals speaks of them as the abode of genii, the land of immortals possessing the elixir of life. Their inhabitants had a corpse-reviving drug; golden peaches, weighing a pound each; timber of immense strength, yet so buoyant that no

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

superimposed weight would sink it; rare trees; a mountain plant that could be plaited into mats and cushions; mulberries an inch long; and an environment of black sea where the waves, not driven by any wind, rose to a height of a thousand feet.

It is more than probable that from these fables, transmitted in the only records containing any reference to prehistoric Japan, the compilers of the *Kojiki* derived the idea of an "age of the gods" and of the Emperor Jimmu's divine ancestry. Why not, indeed? Japanese scholars began to compile records of their country's history at the end of the sixth century of the Christian era. The celebrated *littérateur*, Prince Shotoku, and the equally celebrated patron of Buddhism, Soga-no-Umako, undertook the task. Their unique qualification was familiarity with Chinese ideographic script and with the literature of the Middle Kingdom. Could anything be more natural, more inevitable, than that they should search the pages of that literature for information about the early ages of their nation's existence; or that they should place implicit reliance upon all the

## J A P A N

information thus acquired? A child when it sits down to transcribe the head-lines of its first copy-book does not think of questioning the logic or morality of the precepts inscribed there. Shotoku and Umako were in the position of children so far as Chinese historical records were concerned. From the annalists of the kingdom at whose civilised feet the whole semi-barbarous world sat they learned that prior to the year 700 B. C. the Japanese islands had been known as the habitation of genii and immortals, and with immortals and genii they faithfully peopled them. Shotoku's compilation was destroyed by fire a few years later, but the conditions under which he and his collaborateur worked had undergone no radical change when, in 712 A. D., O-no-Yasumaro wrote the *Kojiki*.

Sinologues have shown that these primitive Japanese annals contain internal evidence of extensive reliance on Chinese sources. The posthumous names—that is to say, the historical names—given to the forty-two emperors from Jimmu to Mommu (697–708 A. D.) are all constructed on Chinese models; the name “Jimmu”

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

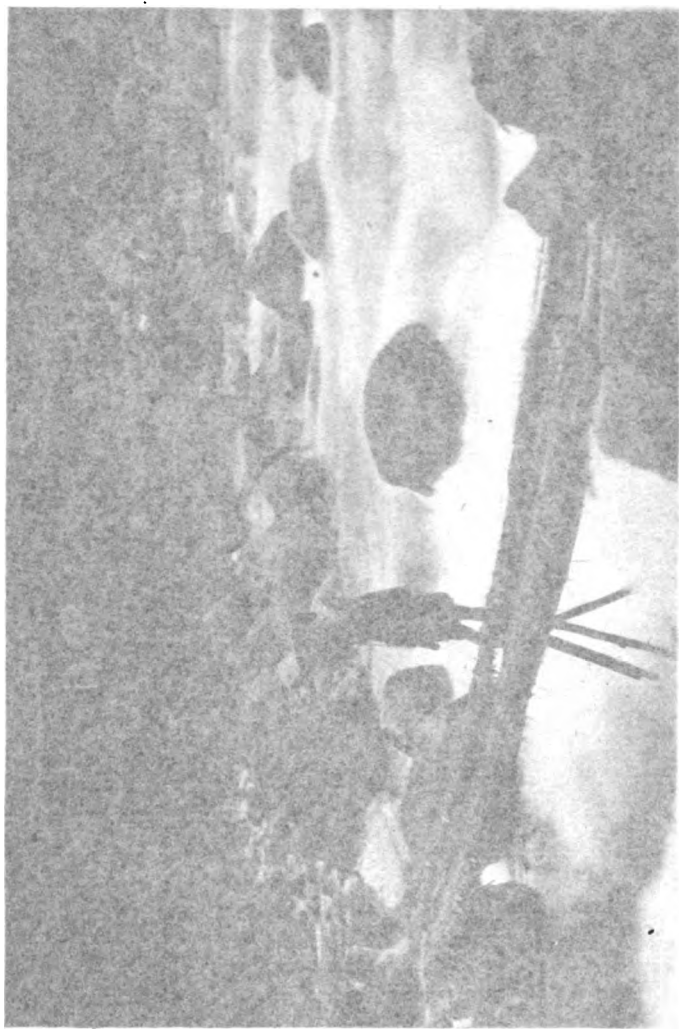
itself is an exact imitation of the title chosen by the *Toba* Tartars for their remote ancestor, and the warlike lady whose alleged invasion of Korea stands out so prominently in Japan's ancient history was evidently called after the Chinese Empress Wu, whose name and style corresponded with "Jingo." It does not follow that every event recorded in Japan's first written annals is to be counted fabulous. Domestic traditions, more or less trustworthy, are doubtless embodied in their pages, as well as reflections of Chinese prehistorical myths. But it does seem a reasonable if not an inevitable conclusion that among many borrowings made by Japan from China, the idea of her "age of gods" has to be included. Can she even claim the credit of having originated her own appellation, or did the Chinese act as godfathers at her baptism? A strange question, yet a question that has caused no little perplexity to sinologues.

It has been already stated that Japan was originally called *Wo*, or *Wa*, by the Chinese; that they wrote the word with an ideograph signifying "submissive," or "dwarfish," and that, when



## J A P A N

the "inwardness" of ideographs became known to the Japanese, they insisted on substituting *Nippon*—the land of the rising sun—for the humiliating *Wo*. These facts rest on the authority of Chinese annals. Yet it has been doubted whether the term *Nippon* did not originate with a Chinese emperor, or whether the name *Wo* was not an ideographic rendering of the appellation given by the Japanese to themselves. To follow such speculations threatens to immerse the inquirer in a maze of perplexities, where guiding clews are hard to clutch. More pertinent is the question how it happens that Occidentals speak of "Japan" and the "Japanese." There are no "Japanese," nor is there any "Japan" in the vocabulary of the people of Nippon. "Japan" is a corrupted pronunciation of *Jih-pên*, which, in its turn, is the Chinese manner of sounding the ideographs used in writing *Nippon*. Thus we of the West apply to the island empire of the far East a name incapable of being phonetically identified with the term applied to it by its own inhabitants. To alphabet-users such accidents are difficult to



## JAPAN

the Chinese system of ideographs became known to the Japanese, they misused on substrate *Nippon*—the land of the rising sun—for the land of *Wo*. These facts rest on the authority of Chinese annals. Yet it has been doubted whether the term *Nippon* did not originate with a Chinese emperor, or whether the name *Wo* was not an ideographic rendering of the appellation given by the Japanese to themselves. To follow such speculations threatens to plunge the inquirer in a maze of possibilities, where guiding clews are hard to catch. More pertinent is the question how it happens that Occidentals speak of “Japan” and the “Japanese.” There are no “Japanese,” nor is there any “Japan” in the vocabulary of the people of *Nippon*. “Japan” is a corrupted pronunciation of *Jin-p’in*, which, in its turn, is the Chinese manner of sounding the ideographs used in writing *Nippon*. Thus we of the West apply to the island empire of the far East a name incapable of being phonetically identified with the term applied to it by its own inhabitants. To alphabet-users such accidents are difficult to



FOOT BRIDGE ACROSS THE MIYANOSHITA RIVER.



## JAPAN'S DEBT

understand. With an alphabet almost any sound can be phonetically transliterated. But with an ideographic script the range of transliterative possibilities is limited to the sounds of the ideographs themselves, and there is always a tendency to invent new names better suited to the resources of such caligraphy. The trouble makes itself felt to this day. No student of modern Japanese literature, reading that an envoy from *Beikoku* concluded a treaty with Japan at Shimoda in 1857, could divine that the United States of America had been one of the high contracting parties on that occasion; nor might it be inferred that, because the leader of Japan's army in the Manchurian campaign of 1894-5 had studied strategy in a land called *Doitsu*, his knowledge was acquired in Germany. The fact is that, in traversing an ideographic medium, sounds often undergo such wide refraction from the normal as to be no longer accurately recognisable.

We may conclude, without risk of serious error, that from the time when the isles of Japan ceased to be fabulous fields of elysium

## J A P A N

to the outside world, they were called *Wo* by the Chinese; that to their own inhabitants of that era they were known as *Yamato*, and that, in the seventh century of the Christian era, the Japanese endeavoured to have *Nippon* substituted for *Wo* in official communications from China.<sup>1</sup> But we may also conclude with apparently just warrant that the fundamental conception, and probably many of the details, of Japan's "divine age" as well as of her so-called history prior to the third or fourth century of the Christian era were borrowed from the fables or written traditions of her continental neighbours.

Looking back to the first Japanese embassy from Yamato to Shensi, just eighteen hundred and forty years ago, one speculates with curiosity on the route taken by the envoys and on the manner of making their message intelligible to

<sup>1</sup> Chinese annals compiled in the second century of the Christian era say: "The *Wo* are southeast of *Han* (the present Korea) and make their dwelling along the mountainous islands in the midst of the ocean. There are over one hundred States. Since the Emperor Wu (110 B. C.) overthrew Chao-sien (northern Korea) over thirty of these States have communicated with North-China by State missions. All these have hereditary rulers whom they style 'King.' The King of Great *Wo* lives at *Yemato* (*Yamato*)."

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

the Chinese. Did Japanese interpreters act as intermediaries, or was the task performed by Chinese? Probably the latter. Chinese records compiled during the third century of the Christian era (the *Wei Chi*) say that thirty of the Wo States were then within interpretorial and ambassadorial reach; a statement which obviously refers to Chinese interpreters. The Court at Singan, accustomed to receive envoys from Tartary, from Manchuria, from Korea and from Cochin China, was doubtless furnished with machinery for expounding the various languages and dialects spoken by nations living on the Middle Kingdom's borders. As for the route taken by the envoys, the records do not furnish conclusive information. The evidence, so far as it goes, is in favour of a voyage by water, coasting along the Korean peninsula, the northern littoral of the Yellow Sea, the peninsula of the Regent's Sword and the shores of the Gulf of Petchili—a journey estimated by the annalists at twelve thousand *li*, or four thousand miles. The alternative route in those early days was by the military road from the Yalu River *via*



## J A P A N

the modern Newchwang, but such a journey offered immense difficulties and dangers, and there is no reason to suppose that it was often taken. About the fourth century it became necessary to travel by the southern route across the sea, Japan's intercourse being thus confined to the southern dynasties of Sung and Liang. Yet even then the character that the journey bore in the recollection of those who had performed it may be gathered from the writings of Chōnen, a Bonze who, in company with five acolytes, travelled to the Court of the Sung Emperor in the year 984 A. D. "I turn my face to the setting sun and journey westward over a hundred thousand *li* (thirty-three thousand miles) of boundless billows. I watch for the monsoon and return eastward, climbing over thousands of thousands of wave-mountain peaks. Toward the end of summer I raise my anchor at Chêh-Kiang, and in the early spring I reach the suburbs of my metropolis." Thus the journey occupied six months even in Chōnen's day. What time and toil must it have involved nine centuries earlier! Yet, as we have said, it was

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

made again and again by Japanese envoys from the year 57 A. D. onward. No wonder that a Chinese emperor (Wu Ti, 421 A. D.) expressed approval of the "distant loyalty" of *Wo*. To the resolute persistence that she showed in thus maintaining relations with China, Japan owed a large debt of civilisation, for it must be frankly admitted that the seeds of the intellectual, artistic, industrial and moral progress attained by her in later eras were gathered either in the Middle Kingdom itself, or in Korea, whither they had been transported from China. What was the condition of the Japanese before those seeds began to be planted, or, at any rate, before they had borne much fruit in the new soil? What were the manners and customs of the Japanese during the centuries that preceded the compilation of their written records?

Tolerably clear information on these interesting questions is afforded by two sets of Chinese annals, one treating of the first two centuries of the Christian era, the other relating to the period 220 to 280 A. D., and both compiled either contemporaneously with the events they discuss, or

## J A P A N

within the lapse of a few years after them. In these records it is stated, in a general way, that Japan — *Wo* is, of course, the term used, but the repetition of these ancient names is confusing and unnecessary — being situated at a short distance from the island of Hainan, the laws and customs of the two places bore more or less resemblance to each other. The soil was very fertile, producing rice and other cereals, as well as cocoons and mulberry, and the seas abounded with fish. The climate was so mild that vegetables grew in winter as well as in summer. White pearls, greenish jade and cinnabar were among the natural productions. The people knew how to weave yarn into stout cotton fabrics. For weapons of war they had spears, shields, bows of wood, and arrows tipped with iron or bone. The men tattooed their faces and bodies, the position and size of the designs constituting an indication of rank. This habit of tattooing, we may note *en passant*, was considered barbarous by the Chinese. In the annals from which we are quoting it is elsewhere stated that people given to tattooing their bodies and

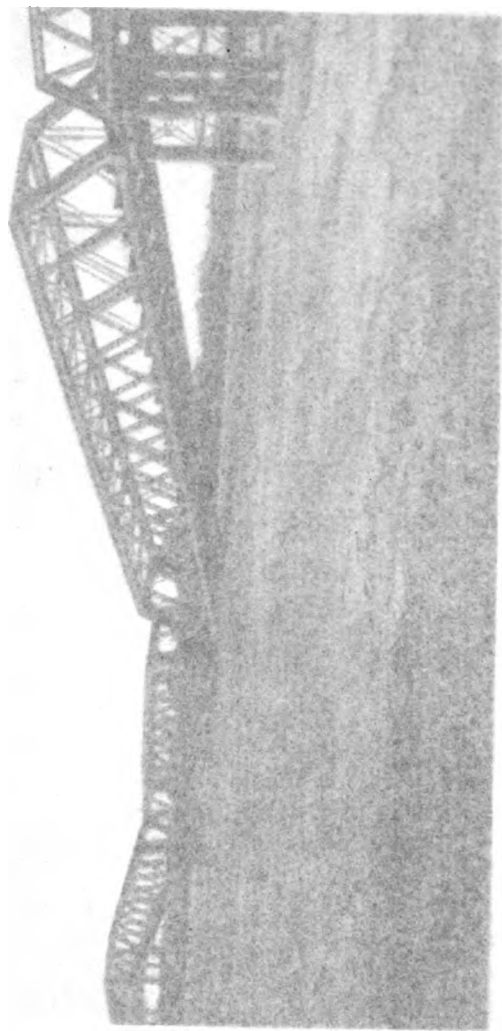
## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

cutting their hair could not be counted as observing the rules of civilisation. An interesting point is the explanation of the origin of the custom, according to the same annalists. They allege that the first rulers of Japan were wandering princes of the Chou dynasty (1200 B. C.), who abandoned their patrimony in China and migrated southwards, cutting their hair and tattooing themselves to mark the completeness of their expatriation. Such evidence is too meagre to be conclusive either as to the origin of the custom or the *provenance* of the Mongoloid section of the Japanese race. But it has at least the merit of offering some hypothesis about a peculiarity for which the Japanese themselves fail to account with any thoroughness. Another well-known Chinese work regards tattooing by the *Wo* tribes as a protection against the attacks of marine creatures of prey, a theory consistent with the diving habits of the Japanese coastwise population, but not reconcilable with the statement that even the upper classes affected the tattooing custom. There are, indeed, strong reasons to doubt whether tat-

## J A P A N

toeing was at any time so prevalent among the Japanese proper as these ancient Chinese annals lead us to suppose. It is conceivable that the annalists failed to distinguish between the inhabitants of the Riukiu archipelago and the people of Nippon, for the latter decline to admit that the tattooing of the face was ever practised by their ancestors, whereas the habit certainly had vogue among the people of Riukiu.

With regard to clothing and personal adornment, the annals relate that the men had garments folded horizontally round their bodies, and that the women wore a robe of one thickness of cloth, put on by passing over the head, dressed their hair in a coiled knot, and used cinnabar as a cosmetic in the same way that the Chinese used rice powder. Both sexes went barefoot. There were stockaded houses and forts. Food was taken with the hands, but platters of bamboo and other woods were used. A respectful attitude was assumed by squatting down. Women were in the majority, and men of rank had four or five wives, two or three sufficing for inferior persons. There was a tendency to indulge in



## JAPAN

was at any time so prevalent among the people as these ancient Chinese authors suppose. It is conceivable that the people could distinguish between the people of the Riankin archipelago and the people of Japan, for the latter did not have the same color of the face was determined by their ancestors, whereas the color of the face was changing among the people of Riankin. The clothing and personal adornment were simple, so that the men had garments that belted round their bodies, and that the women wore a robe of one thickness, which was put on by passing over the head, drew their hair in a coiled knot, and used cinnabar as cosmetic in the same way that the Chinese used rice powder. Both sexes went barefoot. There were stockades, towers, and forts. Food was taken with the hand, but platters of bamboo and other woods were used. A respectful attitude was assumed by squatting down. Women were in the majority, and men of rank had more than one wives, two or three sufficing for inferior persons. There was a tendency to indulge in



THE NAGARA-GAWA BRIDGE AFTER THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE IN 1891.





## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

strong drink. The women were neither sensual nor jealous. There was no robbery or petty theft, and litigation was rare. Lawbreakers suffered severe punishments, their wives and children being reduced to the position of slaves, or even extirpated in extreme cases. The dead lay in state for ten days or more, during which time various performances of song, music and dancing took place. After the obsequies the whole family performed ablutions. Omens were drawn from scorched bones, and false diviners often met with death at the hands of those they misled. Distinctions of rank existed, some being vassals and some lords, and if an inferior met a superior the former had to step out of the road, and had also to squat or kneel, with both hands on the ground when addressing his superior—a custom, be it observed, which remains in vogue until the present day. Taxes were collected, and in each province there were markets where the people bartered their superfluous produce for any articles that they needed. Of Tsushima and Iki it is added that the rice and grain produced in these islands not being sufficient for the use of the

## J A P A N

population, ships were sent to the north and south to procure supplies.

Such were the Japanese up to the year 280 A. D. ; not a highly civilised or refined people, according to modern standards, but very far removed from the ranks of barbarians or savages. Growing rice and cereals, weaving cotton, understanding sericulture, using iron to tip their arrows, not prone to robbery, and wearing garments of good material, they certainly could claim to have long emerged from a primitive state. A much fuller account is contained in the volumes of the great Chinese historian, Ma Twan-lin, but it refers to a later period, namely, the year 600 A. D. An envoy from Japan arriving that year at the Court of the Sui dynasty, the Emperor gave instructions that he should be questioned about Japanese customs, and his answers having been transcribed, apparently with great care, constitute the most accurate and trustworthy statement on record of the conditions existing in Japan a hundred and eleven years prior to the compilation of the earliest written annals that her native scholars transmitted to posterity. We

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

are thus enabled not only to learn much about the Japanese at a time of which their own accounts belong to the category of apocryphal traditions, but also to form a tolerably accurate idea of the progress made by the nation between the third and the seventh centuries of the Christian era, a period of over three hundred years.

The gist of the story told by the Japanese envoy in the year 600 A. D., and committed to writing by scribes of the Chinese Court, is this : There were in Japan twelve administrative chiefs and an indefinite number of inferior officials. No cities existed, in the Chinese sense of the term, that is to say, no walled cities, but the empire was divided into a hundred and twenty provinces, as well as into districts of eighty households, each district presided over by a head-man, and ten districts forming a province. It would thus appear that there were 960,000 households in all, and if we assume the average number of persons in a household to have been five, the population of Japan at that epoch was four million eight hundred thousand. The dress of the men was a skirted garment with very

## J A P A N

small sleeves—that is to say, very small when measured by Chinese standards. On their feet they wore a species of sandal, having the upper face lacquered, and bound to the foot. The lower orders, however, went barefoot, for the most part. They were forbidden to use gold or silver ornaments, and they often wore a *sarong*—that is to say, a garment in the Malayan style—the ends of which were tied but never sewn. Prior to the era of the Sui dynasty (580–617 A. D.) they had no headgear, and their hair was allowed to fall down over the ears, but in the Sui time they adopted hats, gayly ornamented with flowers carved out of gold or silver. The women bound up their hair behind; wore the same kind of skirted robe as the men; had all their lower garments braided or trimmed round the edges, and manufactured combs out of sharpened bits of bamboo. Many of them also tattooed the arm and painted the face. Various skins were employed to make upper garments, patterned skins serving for trimming. Mats for the floor (*tatami*) were woven out of straw. Bows, arrows barbed with iron or bone, swords, cross-bows, long and

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

short spears, and armour made of lacquered hide constituted their warlike equipment. Murder, robbery with violence and rape were punished with death, but in cases of robbery without violence, compensation alone was exacted, and if the thief possessed no property, he had to become a slave. Banishment or beating was the penalty for other offences. At judicial trials persons charged with grave crimes were subjected to torture if they refused to confess, their knees being crushed with a block of wood, or their necks sawn with the taut string of a strong bow. Trial by ordeal was also resorted to: disputants were required to pick stones out of boiling water, or extract snakes from jars, a scald or a bite suffered in the process being held to prove guilt. The people were docile, and not prone to litigation or to theft. There were about a hundred thousand families of musicians in the country, and five varieties of musical instruments, among them the guitar — predecessor of the modern *samisen* — and the flute.

One method of taking fish was to dive into the sea. Another was to put small rings round

## J A P A N

the necks of cormorants, which were trained to go into the water and catch fish, each bird capturing over a hundred in a day. This is the *u-dzkai*, a favourite pursuit even at present. They had no written character of their own, merely using notched wood or knotted cords to record events, until the Buddhist *sutras* were introduced from Peh-tsi (in Korea), when they embraced Buddhism and adopted ideographs. They practised divination, and believed in wizards and witches. The first day of the first month of the year was a great festival: shooting matches took place and there was much drinking. For the rest, their fête-days closely resembled those of China. They were fond of such games as chess, draughts (*go*) and dice; were frank in disposition and refined in manner. Large leaves served them instead of dishes or bowls, and they used their fingers in eating. Persons of the same family name did not intermarry, but with that exception marriages were not subject to any restrictions. When a bride entered her husband's house, she had to step over fire. The dead were placed in a

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

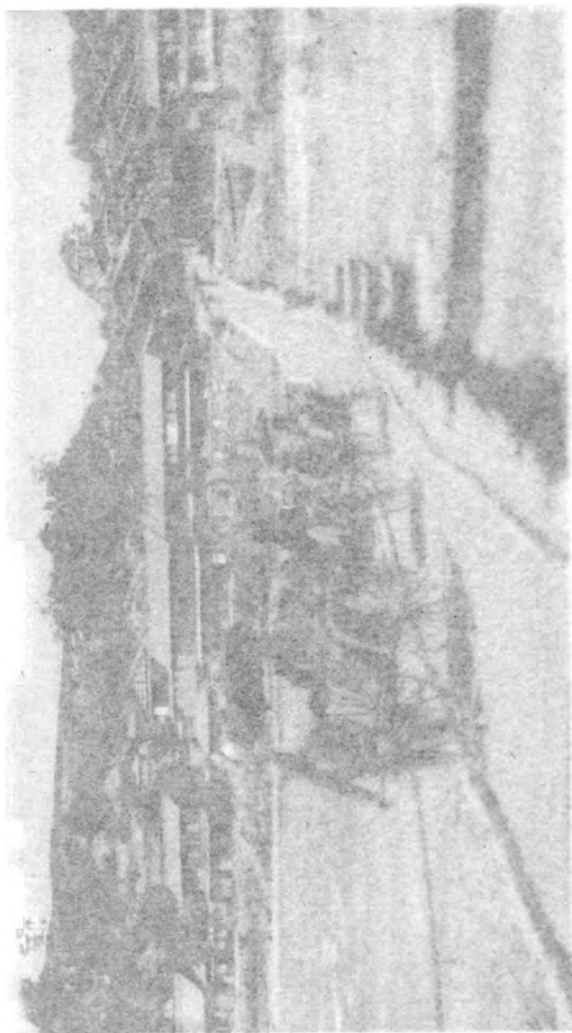
double coffin; white was the mourning colour, and singing and dancing formed part of the funeral rites. A nobleman's body lay in state for three years, but the day for burying a commoner was fixed by divination, and when sepulture took place the coffin was dragged to the cemetery in a boat or on a cart. This remarkably minute record speaks also of a kind of "wishing pearl," said to have been the eye of a fish, darkish in tinge, as big as a hen's egg and capable of shining at night; and tells of Mount Aso, now recognised as the largest crater in the world, from which, at that remote date, huge flames shot up to the sky, and to which the people sacrificed and prayed.

There is no reason whatever to question the authenticity or accuracy of this account. It may be accepted as a trustworthy, though of course incomplete, description of the Japanese at the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, and it shows that their civilisation had then progressed very materially. With the exception of the Greeks, the Romans, the Chinese



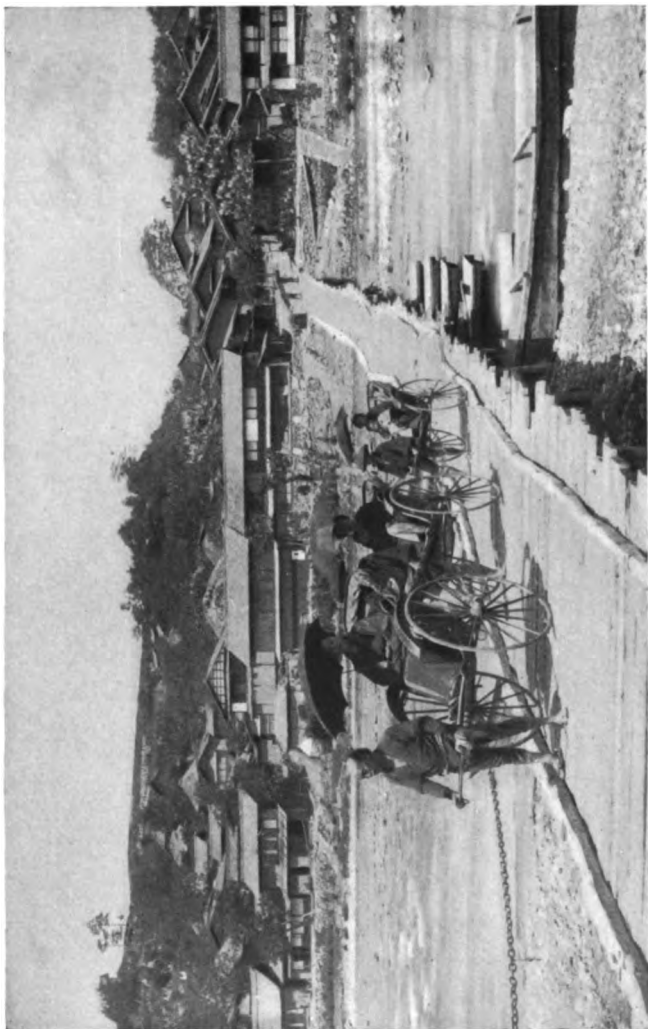
## J A P A N

and the Koreans, they were evidently the most civilised nation in the world at that epoch. Possibly they had outstripped the Koreans, but as to that we cannot speak definitely. The notice summarised above from Ma Twan-lin's history concludes by saying that both Shinra and Peh-tsi, the two principal States in southern Korea, considered Japan a great country with many precious things, and that embassies were constantly passing between them. Moreover, a Korean writer, referring to events that occurred at the close of the fourth century, says that the sovereign of Peh-tsi, "having behaved disrespectfully to the honourable country" (Japan), "was deprived of five districts, and had to send his son to the Celestial Court to renew the friendly relations formerly existing." Such language indicates that however greatly Japan was indebted to Korea for aids to civilisation,—and the Japanese themselves frankly acknowledge the weight of the obligation,—the island empire had earned the respect and homage of the peninsula kingdom at a very early date. China, on the other hand, remained always supercilious and



## JAPAN

and the Koreans, they were evidently the most civilised nation in the world at that epoch. Possibly they had outstripped the Koreans, but as to that we cannot speak definitely. The notice summarised above from Ma Twan-lin's history concludes by saying that both Shinra and Peh-tsi, the two principal States in southern Korea, considered Japan a great country with many precious things, and that embassies were constantly passing between them. Moreover, a Korean writer, referring to events that occurred at the close of the fourth century, says that the sovereign of Peh-tsi, "having behaved disrespectfully to the honourable country" (Japan), "was deprived of five districts, and had to send his son to the Celestial Court to renew the friendly relations formerly existing." Such language indicates that however greatly Japan was indebted to Korea for aids to civilisation,—and the Japanese themselves frankly acknowledge the weight of the obligation,—the island empire had earned the respect and homage of the peninsula kingdom at a very early date. China, on the other hand, remained always supercilious and



**BOAT BRIDGE ON THE NAKASENDO.**



## JAPAN'S DEBT

lofty. The answer she sent to the Empress Jingo by the latter's envoys was characteristic: "I now pack up securely five pieces of brown silk embroidered with dragon designs; ten brown hair carpets with patterns in silk; eight ounces of gold; two five-foot swords, a hundred copper mirrors, and fifty pounds each of pearls and red lead, in order to teach your countrymen how the government pities you and therefore honours you with nice things."<sup>1</sup> Even as late as the year 984, when the Japanese priest Chōnen visited the Sung Court and presented various articles, including a volume of history, the Emperor spoke of the Japanese as "island barbarians," though, at the same time, the unbroken continuity of their line of sovereigns from remote eras excited his admiration. That note of contempt has invariably disturbed the harmony of Japan's relation with her neighbour. It sounded again as harshly as ever in 1894, when the present Emperor, in his declaration of war, called the Japanese *Wo-jên*, well aware of the disdainfully insulting character of the

<sup>1</sup> The *Wei-Chi*. Translated by Parker.

## J A P A N

epithet, and of the protest that Japan had entered against its use twelve centuries previously. It is possible that when Michizane, one of Japan's greatest statesmen, recommended, in 894 A. D., the discontinuance of the practice of sending embassies to China, he appreciated the interpretation attached to such missions by the Middle Kingdom, and the humiliating position to which his country had been relegated by every Chinese ruler from Kwang Wu-ti to Chaotsung. Michizane's advice, though it had the effect of terminating the official intercourse between the two empires, did not interrupt their trade or check the stream of students and religionists who from year to year visited China, either to obtain copies of the Mahâyana Law, the great Tibetan Sutras and other renowned tomes, or to hold converse with the philosophers and *literati* of the most erudite Court in the East, or to study arts and sciences, or to sit at the feet of wonderful caligraphists whose equals Japan could seldom produce.

It is curious to observe how, all through the records of both countries, there runs a strain of

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

reverent admiration for skill in penmanship. Nothing illustrates more vividly the stupendous effort of industry, memory, artistic perception and manual dexterity necessary to master the ideographic script than the fact that, in grave records of ambassadorial qualifications and proceedings, ability to write well ranked high among the achievements of which posterity was informed. Kurita, who in Japan possessed the title of Ason Mabito, seems to have been the first Japanese visitor to the Middle Kingdom whose manner of forming ideographs elicited the approval of the severe critics at Singan. His raiment, his calligraphy and his bearing — these are the three features that annalists have immortalised. He wore a purple robe and a silk girdle; on his head was the *shintoku-kan*, a hat with four gorgeous flowers; he was a student, a good penman and a person of graceful deportment. The year 701 A. D. has bequeathed to us that historical epitaph. Of Shakunen, who visited the Sung Court three hundred years later (1004 A. D.), and on whom the Emperor Chintsung conferred a title and a robe of honour, the only



## J A P A N

facts recorded are that he could not speak Chinese, but that he knew the written character and was a wonderfully clever caligraphist. A special education, a special range of experience, is needed before any Occidental can begin to appreciate the subtle qualities of force, delicacy, grace and directness that Japanese and Chinese eyes discover in the face of an ideograph. Full appreciation is probably impossible. Just as in the performance called dancing by the Japanese, that rhythmic waving of hands and weaving of paces, there is a music of motion whose harmony hereditarily developed senses alone can detect and admire, so in the ideograph's equipoise of stroke and space, its soft strength of line and unerring accuracy of vinculum, its dashing boldness of tracery and delicate transitions of direction, there are beauties that thrill the native of China or Japan, but remain utterly imperceptible to the Occidental. It has its cadence and its cæsure; it is at once a poem and a picture; scrolls of ideographs, traced by the brushes of renowned experts, rank with the masterpieces of the greatest artists, and generation after generation

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

of Japanese hold in honour the memories of their three "Kings of Calligraphy"—the Emperor Saga, the priest Kobodaishi and the nobleman Tachibana Hayashi—and of their "Three Penmen" (*Sanseki*), Ono-no-Tofu, Fujiwara Sari and Fujiwara Kozei. That was the bond that bound Japan to China in the early centuries. The Middle Kingdom was the fountain of literature, the library of the whole Asiatic continent eastward of India. Japan drew upon it for all her stores of erudition, philosophy and science during the first seven or eight hundred years of the Christian era. On the other hand, the elements of civilisation that she imported from Korea were connected with material progress, rather than with moral, if we except the introduction of Buddhism, to which memorable event detailed reference will presently be made. Of course there must always be some hesitation in tracing to its origin any Japanese industry or art that dates from a period prior to the compilation of her written annals. But the sources of error in these cases are not seriously prolific, for domestic traditions and special collateral evidence aid us in reaching the truth.

## J A P A N

It has been shown, on the authority of Chinese records, that the Japanese understood the art of weaving as early as the close of the second century. It has also been shown that the inhabitants of the Korean peninsula, in a still more remote era, had stores of cloth and sumptuary officials; that they practised sericulture, and that on State occasions they wore garments of embroidered silk with gold and silver ornaments. Did Japan learn weaving and sericulture from Korea? There is some uncertainty whether the teaching came from China or Korea. At all events, the fact that the Koreans had carried those useful accomplishments to a higher degree of development than the Japanese, appears to be admitted by Japanese annals, for the ancestors of the two great families, the Shin and the Kan, with whose names the development of weaving, silk manufacture and embroidery is primarily connected in Japan, are said to have crossed from Korea in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The third century, according to Japanese historians, but modern research has proved that the dates at that particular era of Japanese history have to be increased by 120 years, namely, two cycles of the sexagenary calendar.

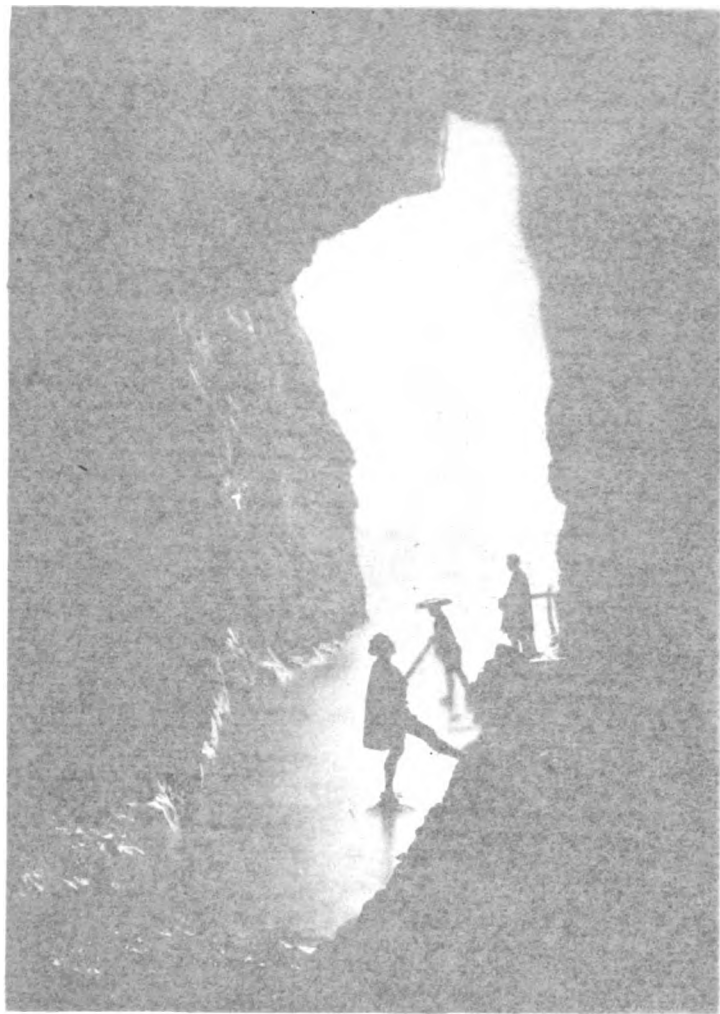
## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

These immigrants were distributed throughout the empire to give instruction in the arts of which they were master craftsmen. Eighty years later (470 A. D.)—a date fixed with tolerable accuracy—the Japanese Emperor (Yuriaku), desiring to effect improvements in the costume of his subjects, procured a number of female weavers and seamstresses from Wu in southern China, and organised a special State department under the name of *Kinu-nui-be* (silk embroidery section). At the same time mulberry plantations were formed at various places, and the members of the Shin family, then numbering some eighteen thousand persons, were brought together and organised under the superintendence of a high official, Hada-no-sake.

A word must be said here about the State called “Wu,” according to Chinese pronunciation, and “Go,” according to Japanese, for the name is of importance in the history of far-Eastern art, and has been a source of perplexity to many art critics, both Occidental and Oriental. *Wu*, as recorded in Chinese annals, was a State established in the twelfth or thirteenth century

## J A P A N

before the Christian era, at a place corresponding with the modern Soochow. Curiously enough, early Chinese annalists are disposed to trace some kind of racial connection between the Japanese and the people of *Wu*, whose rulers were supposed to have belonged originally to the Chou dynasty and to have moved to the south of the Yang-tse, cutting their hair and tattooing themselves as related above. Soochow being a part of China specially accessible from Japan, there would be no difficulty in identifying it as the place from which the Emperor Yuriaku obtained seamstresses and weavers in the year 470 A. D., did not one embarrassing fact present itself, namely, that *Wu*, as the appellation of a State, had ceased to exist long before Yuriaku's time. Mr. E. H. Parker, the well-known sinologue, thinks that the *Wu* in question was a State of the house of Sun, which had reigned at modern Nanking from 222 to 280 A. D., including two years at modern Wu-ch'ang, opposite Hankow. But this *Wu* was a comparatively insignificant principality, at once difficult of access from Japan and not



SEA CAVE AT LAGUNA.

## JAPAN

of the Chou era, at a place corresponding with the modern Soochow. Curiously enough, early Chinese annalists are disposed to trace some kind of racial connection between the Japanese and the people of *Wu*, whose tales were supposed to have belonged originally to the Chou dynasty and to have moved to the south of the Yang-tse, cutting their hair and tattooing themselves as related above. Soochow being a part of China specially accessible from Japan, there would be no difficulty in identifying it as the place from which the Emperor Yuraku obtained seamstresses and weavers in the year 470 A.D., did not one embarrassing fact present itself, namely, that *Wu*, as the appellation of a State, had ceased to exist long before Yuraku's time. Mr. E. H. Parker, the well-known sinologue, thinks that the *Wu* in question was a State of the house of Sun, which had reigned at modern Nanking from 222 to 260 A.D., including two years at modern Wu-chang, opposite Hankow. But this *Wu* was a comparatively insignificant principality, at once difficult of access from Japan and not



SEA CAVE AT ENOSHIMA.





## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

possessing any apparent claim to be associated with impulses of industrial or sumptuary progress. Moreover, it is surely a little unreasonable to assume that a small inland State, which came to an end in 280 A. D., should have been the source to which the Japanese government addressed itself a hundred and ninety years later for industrial assistance. A more tenable hypothesis is that the *Wu* referred to in Japanese annals was the early *Wu*, the district comprising modern Soochow. It is to *Wu*, or *Go* as they call it, that the Japanese attribute their first knowledge of weaving and sewing. The point is affirmed for all time by the general term that they apply to articles of raiment. *Gofuku* signifies "wearing apparel," *gofuku-ya*, a haberdasher, and the origin of the words is unhesitatingly referred by every educated Japanese to the fact that from *Go* came the earliest instruction in the manufacture of woven stuffs. We have already seen that, if Chinese annals be credible, the art of weaving was known and practised in Japan at the end of the second or the beginning of the third

## J A P A N

century, and it follows that the progressive measure adopted by Yuriaku in procuring the assistance of experts from the so-called *Go* was connected with the improvement, not the initiation, of the industry. At a later epoch, when the Japanese received from China the first specimens of porcelain decorated with blue under the glaze, they called the ware *Gosu-some-tsuke* or simply *Gosu*; and when, still later, porcelain decorated with vitrifiable enamels over the glaze came across the sea, they called it *Gosuaka-ye*. It thus becomes plain that, in a general way, China was known to them as *Go*, and that they used the term somewhat indiscriminately to indicate Chinese origin. Whether the fact may be interpreted as suggesting a racial connection between a section of the Japanese people and the Chinese of Wu and Yüeh (modern Hangchow), is a point not determinable unless some ethnographical information fuller than that now in our possession be obtained.

After the importation of the *Go* experts vigorous measures were taken to develop sericulture, but it does not appear that the silk

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

fabrics then produced were in general vogue. They were presented, for the most part, to the Emperor, and used to lie piled up in the palace until a special storehouse was built for their reception. Brocades, also, must have been manufactured, for we find a "brocade bureau" among the State offices of the time. The reader will always remember, of course, that the details here adduced were committed to writing at a period much later than the time actually in question, and that due allowance has to be made for the inaccuracy of tradition as compared with history. But whatever margin of chronological error be left on that account, we may at least be assured that the manufacturing and sumptuary conditions recorded to the beginning of the eighth century had been in existence for a long time previously. There is much to admire in the fine courage of the latest writers of Japanese history<sup>1</sup> who date the art of weaving in their country from the reign of the wayward goddess of the sun (Amaterasu);

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Empire of Japan," compiled for the Imperial Japanese Commission of the World's Columbian Exhibition by the Historiographical Committee of the Imperial University.

## J A P A N

credit the Emperor Jimmu with taking a practical interest in clothing stuffs and the cultivation of hemp; conclude that red and green colours could be produced in that sovereign's day by dyeing processes, and assure us that the Japanese ladies and gentlemen of the seventh century before Christ wore hats, robes and pantaloons, as well as necklets and armlets of crystal beads, agate, glass, serpentine and polished gems. Even the Chinese had not yet begun to manufacture glass at that epoch; they enjoyed the exciting belief that the rare specimens brought to them by the Phoenicians were fragments of centenarian ice. In truth, the modern European or American, to whom the idea of existence without a knowledge of writing is scarcely conceivable, has little capacity to appreciate the perplexities of the first Japanese annalists when they set themselves, in the year 711 A. D., to construct an account of the events of the preceding thirteen centuries. They were not much nearer morally to many of those events than we are to-day, and although we may credit them to the extent of admitting

## JAPAN'S DEBT

that they did not describe things having no actual existence, we cannot place much reliance on the dates that they assign for the origin of any particular custom or accomplishment. Thus, when they say that a band of weavers and seamstresses were invited over from southern China during the reign of Yuriaku, they merely record a tradition already more than two centuries old in their era. Our immediate task, however, is not to trace manufacturing processes or sumptuary habits back to their exact beginnings, but to see what debt Japan owed to China and Korea on account of them.

To the reign of the same Emperor—Yuriaku (456–470)—is ascribed the building of the first two-storied house in Japan. Hitherto the method of constructing a residence had been to sink wooden posts in the ground as supports for a thatched roof, to the timbers of which the posts were tied by ligatures of wistaria and other creepers—a rude structure. Korean architects are supposed to have taught better methods, though it seems strange that the Japanese, who through their embassies to the courts of the *Han*, the

## J A P A N

*Tsin* and the *Sung* must have become familiar with the splendours of the capitals at Loyang (Honan), Singan and Nanking, should have remained, until the middle of the fifth century, content with such primitive dwellings. A hundred years after Yuriaku's time, that is to say, toward the close of the sixth century, the Buddhist creed having taken firm root in Japan, edifices magnificent in comparison with anything that had preceded them began to be built, according to designs furnished by Korean architects, for the reception of images and the worship of the new god. The fashion thus set by the votaries of the imported religion was soon followed by private individuals, Korean experts being still employed. Shortly afterwards, tile-makers came over from the peninsula and taught that useful art, though the production of glazed tiles such as the Chinese were already using was not understood by the Koreans of that era, and remained for several centuries beyond the capacity of the Japanese. With regard to the forging of iron, it is difficult to determine whether Japan owed the knowledge to one of her neighbours, Korea or China, or

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

whether she may herself be credited with the initiative. But her people admit frankly that from Korean blacksmiths they learned how to manufacture metal objects of large dimensions. The tanner's art, also, was introduced from Korea in the latter half of the fifth century, and the processes were materially improved by Chinese craftsmen who visited Japan at the invitation of Yuriaku. The making of paper and ink, the concoction of dyes and the preparation of whetstones are attributed to a Korean priest who arrived in Japan at the end of the sixth century; the medical art was acquired from China, and Chinese therapeutics continued to be practised generally in Japan until Occidental science replaced it; the use of the calendar was due to Chinese instruction at the beginning of the seventh century; the pictorial art may be said to have come in the train of Buddhism, and shipwrights were among the gifts that Korea bestowed on Japan.

Thus the catalogue of Japan's debts to her two neighbours is formidable. She outstripped them both in later ages, and many of the improvements that she made in the arts and industries derived



## J A P A N


from them amount almost to metamorphoses. But the original obligation cannot be denied, and is not denied by the Japanese themselves. The Koreans, indeed, have no title to rank higher than media for transmitting the elements of a civilisation whose prime source was China. It was their good fortune to be twice invaded by Chinese armies in days prior to the compilation of Japan's earliest history: once in the second century before the Christian era and once in the seventh century after it. On neither occasion did they long enjoy the advantages of direct Chinese rule, but after the conquest of northwestern Korea in 108 B.C. by the *Han* forces, it remained for a considerable period under the vice-regal sway of the Middle Kingdom, and there can be no doubt that whatever arts and sciences China had then developed were brought within reach of the inhabitants of the peninsula, to be transmitted by them in turn to the Japanese. Buddhism, however, was the grand civilising influence in the far East. The circumstances of its advent to Japan will be related by and by, but we have to note here that just as Christianity, whatever

## J A P A N ' S   D E B T

obstacles it once placed in the path of scientific progress, has long marched in the van of Occidental civilisation, so Buddhism, from the sixth century onward, not only presided over the moral and intellectual training of the Japanese, but also set before them object lessons in art and refinement without which their progress must have been immeasurably slower.

## VI

### MEDLÆVAL JAPAN

URING THE CLOSE OF THE ninth century China was in the throes of one of those dynastic struggles that have convulsed her twenty-three times during the four thousand five hundred years of her recorded existence as a State. The *Tang* sovereigns, after nearly three centuries of brilliant administration, during which their empire had come to be regarded as the great conquering and civilising power of the Asiatic continent, were losing their grasp of the huge dominion subdued and consolidated by the illustrious Tai-tsung. It was at that time that the Japanese government resolved to abandon the habit of sending embassies to the Chinese Court. There had been practically no interruption in the despatch of such envoys since the second century, though their frequency

## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

had been limited, of course, by the difficulties of an enterprise involving nearly a year's travel, by the disturbances that attended the rise and fall of ruling houses in the Middle Kingdom, and by domestic tumults in Japan. From Michizane, one of the two Chief Ministers, came the suggestion that official intercourse between the neighbouring empires should cease. Michizane was one of Japan's great men; one of her greatest, indeed, in the opinion of many critics. He died in exile, under circumstances of picturesque pathos that appealed strongly to the romantic sentiment of his countrymen, and his unmerited sufferings were compensated by apotheosis at the hands of later generations under the title of *Tenjin-sama*, "the heavenly deity." It need scarcely be said that he was a renowned calligraphist. No man could attain a position of leadership in mediæval Japan unless his sense of proportion and intensity of study were attested by ideographic skill. He was also an artist, a *littérateur*, and, above all, a profound politician. His advice that the despatch of embassies to China should be discon-

## J A P A N

tinued, is historically attributed to the internal disorder prevailing at the moment in that country, and to the futility of sending envoys who to serious risks *en route* might add the embarrassment of finding, at the end of their journey, that they had been accredited to the representative of a dethroned dynasty. But a suggestion based on such arguments could have had only temporary value, and, moreover, would probably have shared the discredit of its author's subsequent degradation and exile had it not been re-enforced by some motive of national importance.

It is more than probable that in Michizane's time the Japanese had learned to appreciate the significance attached by China to their missions, and had perceived that every embassy sent by them to the Court of the Middle Kingdom was there recorded as an additional proof of their country's vassalage. Between the year 238 A. D. and the date (894) of Michizane's advice, Japan accredited twenty-eight embassies to the Chinese Court. During the same interval China's embassies to Japan totalled three. There was no

## M E D I Æ V A L J A P A N

semblance of reciprocal courtesy. The Emperor Wu Ti (421 A. D.), graciously eulogising the arrival of a Japanese envoy, issued a manifesto: "The distant loyalty of Tsan of Wo merits notice. Let some office be bestowed on him." In 681, His Majesty Tai-tsung, observing the great distance that the Japanese ambassador had to travel, gave orders that "annual tribute should not be insisted on," and sent a magistrate of Shan-tung to "preach a homily" to the islanders. If national sentiment had any existence in Japan in those early centuries, the lofty condescension of the Chinese rulers could not fail to be resented. The paramount respect paid to Michizane's policy is thus easily understood. Not the hardship of the journey to Singan, nor yet the uncertainty of its results, was his real motive. He saw no reason why Japan should continue to humiliate herself, and the justice of his view was acknowledged in practice by subsequent sovereigns of Japan, for from that time the despatch of official embassies to China ceased completely. Naturally this interruption of official intercourse is not directly recorded in

## J A P A N

Chinese annals. The first reference that we find there is indirect. In the year 1026, a Japanese local official arrived at Ming-Chow (modern Ningpo), carrying various presents. He was probably an envoy from one of the territorial magnates who were beginning at that epoch to acquire and exercise autonomic power within the limits of the districts administered by them. We read in Ma Twan-lin's history, as translated by Mr. Parker, that "since this envoy was not provided with an address from the Japanese government, the Emperor ordered his presents to be declined, and from that date the Japanese did not send tribute to the Chinese Court." It is easy to reconcile the discrepancy between the statements of the Chinese and the Japanese annalists.

Cessation of official relations did not appreciably affect the literary, commercial and religious intercourse between the two empires. It must be recorded to China's credit that she showed herself liberal and courteous in those mediæval days. Priests and *literati* coming from Japan were handsomely entertained and sympathetically

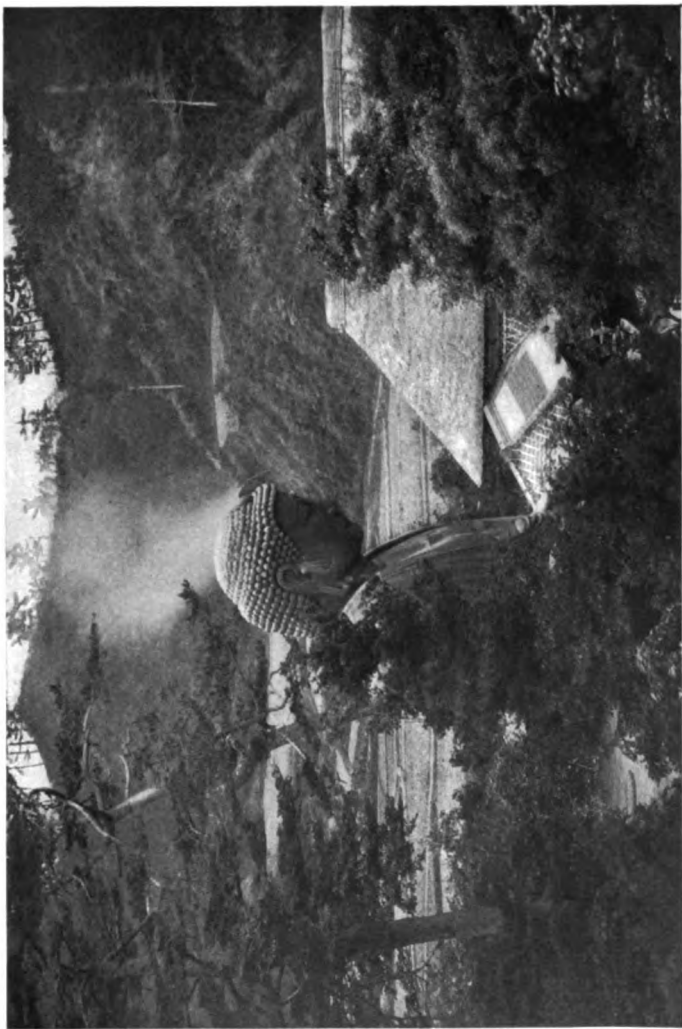
## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

treated. Supplies were given to Japanese boats driven by stress of weather into Chinese ports. Castaways were furnished with food and money and sent back to their country. No serious obstacles were placed in the way of trade. Chinese vessels passed to Japan, and Japanese ships, such as they were, occasionally made their way to Soochow. But the commerce thus established was fitful and insignificant. Buddhism was the great civilising factor of the era. Introduced from China in the beginning of the sixth century, it failed at first to take root in Japanese soil. Fifty years later, however, propagandists from Korea succeeded in planting the new creed firmly. Thenceforth its growth was practically uninterrupted. One of the most recent developments of Japanese character has been independence of official initiative. Only within the past decade have the people ceased to look to the government for guidance in almost everything lying beyond the realm of domestic concerns. In feudal and ante-feudal times the aristocratic and military orders were implicitly credited with a monopoly of learning, intelligence and sagacity.



## J A P A N

Thus the Imperial Court's profound and public allegiance to Buddhism from the era of the Emperor Kimmei (540-572 A. D.) placed the imported faith beyond the range of popular opposition. At the close of the seventh century, any household neglecting to provide a domestic altar for the veneration of Tathâgata, violated an Imperial ordinance. In the early part of the eighth, each province was required to build a place of worship and a monastery. Almost every leader of thought, every literary celebrity, every political magnate, prayed to Buddha for his own prosperity, and intrusted to Buddhist priests the custody of his ancestral cenotaphs and the tendance of his family tomb. Such patronage would have established any creed among a people so obedient to impulses from above. But Buddhism had other titles to general esteem. Associated with its name was the first charity hospital established in Kyoto. The mother of an Emperor and his consort, taught by the tenets of Sidartha, devoted themselves to works of mercy, and, with the sovereign's co-operation, founded and equipped an institution where the poor received



**SIDE VIEW OF THE BRONZE BUDDHA AT KAMAKURA.**



## M E D I Æ V A L J A P A N

medical treatment and medicines gratis. An asylum for the support of the destitute was also among the works of these philanthropists, and they organised a system for the nourishment of foundlings, as well as for the general relief of the poor and the distressed. We are writing of the period known as the *Nara* epoch, the interval between the years 710 and 794 A. D., and of the Emperor Shomu, who reigned from 724 to 749. The dates are striking. Eleven hundred and fifty years ago a Japanese ruler and two Japanese Imperial ladies turned their attention to such things as charity hospitals, poor-houses and foundling asylums.

Western tourists in Japan do not fail to visit Nara or to admire its gorgeous temples and its colossal image of Buddha, made of copper and gold. Few remember, however, that they there behold monuments dating from the time when Charles Martel fought Saracens in France, and the Lombards were beginning to form duchies in Italy. Already at that remote epoch Buddhism had become to the Japanese a message of mercy and a promoter of civilisation. Opulent

## J A P A N

grandeess, following the example of the Court, spent vast sums on the building and endowment of temples, dedicated their sons to the priesthood, or took the tonsure themselves when the pressure of years began to detach them from love and ambition. It is related of Coifi, Edwin's chief priest, that when questioned by the King as to the relative merits of the old idolatry and the monotheism of Christianity, he frankly declared in favour of the latter, because his unwearying service to the gods of heathendom had brought him no special promotion at the hands of his king nor any signal success in his worldly undertakings. There is no doubt that something of the same self-interested spirit turned men's faces towards Buddhism from the *Nara* epoch onward. Prosperity for the worshipper, peace for the nation, were blessings supposed to be in Amida's gift. As for the priests, they applied themselves to promote the people's material welfare not less zealously than they laboured to propagate the doctrines of their creed. Constantly visiting China, they studied whatever of science or art that highly civilised

## M E D I Æ V A L J A P A N

country had to teach, and, returning to Japan, they travelled throughout the length and breadth of the realm, imparting the knowledge they had acquired. At their instance and under their instruction works of irrigation were undertaken; extensive tracts of land were brought under cultivation; roads were constructed; rivers bridged; canals excavated; navigation encouraged; painting, sculpture and keramics carried into new directions; metallurgic processes developed and applied to the casting and chiselling of idols in gold and bronze; glass-making and soap-boiling taught, though neither was destined to become popular. In short, the priestly representatives of Buddhism contributed quite as largely to the material progress of the nation as to its moral improvement. Of the value of education as an indirect propagator of their creed they had just as clear a perception as the Christian of the nineteenth century has. The educational institutions that they established or conducted find their exact counterpart in the educational institutions founded and maintained with Christian mission funds in Japan to-day.

## J A P A N

It was at their instance that the Emperor Tenchi (668-672) appointed the first Japanese officials charged with the duty of superintending and organising machinery of instruction. At their instance the same sovereign established a university in Kyoto and public schools at various provincial centres. Later on, during the *Heian* epoch (794 to 1186 A. D.), the influence of the Court was exercised still more vigorously and continuously in the cause of education, and great nobles began to disburse large sums for the establishment of schools and colleges. It is true that an element of selfishness also made itself occasionally apparent: some of these institutions were intended solely for the instruction of the members of special clans, as the Fujiwara, the Tachibana and so forth, just as some of the colleges founded in Tokyo during the past thirty years are intended to be nurseries of recruits for this or that political faction.

The subjects taught at the schools of the *Nara* and *Heian* epochs were called the four paths of learning (*Shi-do*)—the Chinese classics, his-

## M E D I Æ V A L J A P A N

tory, law and mathematics, the first of which alone covered any wide range. By history is to be understood chiefly the history of China. In the records of Chinese rulers, captains, philosophers and *literati*, Japanese students, down to a comparatively recent period, found all their types of majesty, power, wisdom and erudition. To be able to quote a Chinese precedent was to have justification for any act, a model in any emergency. One effect of this devotion to Chinese learning and respect for Chinese systems was that the profession of arms began to fall into disfavour. In China the soldier had always been counted an inferior being. The first Chinese force despatched (110 B. C.) to the invasion of Korea consisted chiefly of criminals. Towards the close of the *Heian* era, literary culture, the elaboration of codes of etiquette, the pursuit of pastimes often of the most trivial and *banal* character, engrossed the attention of the upper classes in Japan. To be an accomplished ideographist became a matter of much greater importance than to be a skilled swordsman or an accurate archer. Men



## J A P A N

and women robed in silks of delicate texture and glowing colours were to be seen in spring floating wine-cups on streams that swept through parks beautifully laid out, and past mansions magnificent even according to modern standards; or in summer, seated in gayly decorated boats, composing couplets and making music; or, at the passing of winter, wandering on hills among rockeries and cascades to pull up young pine trees by the roots. The manners and customs of that age — the age immediately preceding the rise of military feudalism — have been described by learned Japanese historians of recent date. The rude and unpolished but frugal and industrious habits of the *Nara* epoch underwent gradual change as the *Heian* era tended to its close. Instead of exercises for developing manly vigour and soldierly skill, luxurious indulgence and effeminate display became the fashion.

The metropolis — Kyoto, or Heian-jo as it was called — was the centre of magnificence and the focus of pleasure. The princes and great nobles built for themselves dwellings scarcely less imposing than the sovereign's palace. Every aristo-

## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

cratic abode consisted of a number of buildings on the construction and furnishing of which great sums were lavished. Within the principal gate stood places for vehicles, and farther on a second gate gave entrance to an enclosure inside which the main edifice stood. On its east and west, as well as behind it, were buildings for the use of members of the family, for retainers, and for the discharge of the various services connected with the household. Corridors connected these wings with the main edifice, and the whole was surrounded by a park which, with its rockeries, shrubberies, cascades, lakes, forests of flowering trees, and deftly contrived vistas, showed that the art of landscape gardening had already reached a high stage of development. The residence of the chief minister of State was constructed after the model of one of the Imperial palaces, the *Seiryō-den*, or hall of cool freshness,—a fact which loses something of its arrogant suggestiveness when we remember that the puissant Fujiwara prince, Michinaga, who held that post at the close of the tenth century, had the honour of seeing his three daughters become the consorts

## J A P A N

of three consecutive sovereigns. The inmates of these imposing structures led lives consonant with their surroundings. Sumptuary rules had been issued by the government prescribing the colour and quality of the garments to be worn by the occupants of the various official posts or the holders of certain official ranks. But little attention was paid to such ordinances in the *Heian* epoch. Officials, courtiers and their families engaged in a competition of luxury and display. Rich brocades, elaborately embroidered silks, finely woven crêpes, and all fabrics that the loom or the needle could furnish, whether of domestic, Chinese or Korean manufacture, were included in the wardrobes of the upper classes. The ox-cars, or portly sedan chairs, in which aristocrats went abroad, shone with lacquer and with elaborately chiselled ornaments of gold and silver, and their occupants sat shrouded from public gaze by curtains of delicately meshed bamboo. Moral attainments or practical experience constituted no title to office or preferment. To be born in one of the privileged families was the sole passport to success. In the Imperial Court, on spring morn-



FIGURE 1. YOUNG WOMEN IN JAPANESE CLOTHING

## JAPAN

of the country, and of her customs. The habits of the Japanese, her social structures and lives conservative and unchangeable. Sumptuary rules had been enacted by the government prescribing the color and quantity of the garments to be worn by the occupants of the various official posts or the holders of certain official ranks. But little attention was paid to such ordinances in the *Heian* period. Nobles, courtiers and their families entered in a competition of luxury and display. Rich brocades, elaborately embroidered silks, finely woven crepes, and all fabrics that the loom of the country could furnish, whether of domestic or foreign manufacture, were included in the wardrobes of the upper classes. The *kyozukue*, or partly sedan chairs, in which aristocrats went abroad, shone with lacquer and with elaborately carved ornaments of gold and silver, and their occupants sat shrouded from public gaze by curtains of delicately meshed lamboo. Merit, attainments or practical experience constituted no title to office or preferment. To be born in one of the privileged families was the sole passport to success. In the Imperial Court, on spring moun-



EVERY-DAY COSTUMES OF THE BETTER CLASS.



## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

ings or under the autumnal moon, reunions were held, when the guests vied with one another in making music and composing poetry.

At the close of the ninth century, five fête-days were established, which have been observed ever since with unabating earnestness: the third day of the third month, the fifth of the fifth month, the seventh of the seventh month and the ninth of the ninth month, and to these were added the festival of the "late moonlight" (thirteenth of the ninth month) and that of the "last chrysanthemums." Among games played indoors, checkers (*go*)—a pastime demanding more skill than chess—and a kind of dice (*sugoroku*) were much in vogue; and the favourite outdoor sports were football, polo, hawking, horse-racing and equestrian archery. At wine-feasts various kinds of songs, some classical, some popular, were chanted with accompaniment of sundry musical instruments and dancing, and Chinese and Japanese stanzas were composed and sung. Between the close of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth these luxurious habits reached their acme. The importance of personal adornment



## J A P A N

received such recognition that men began to paint their eyebrows and blacken their teeth, after the fashion of married women, provoking the wits of the time to compare them to puppets set up at festivals, or to apply to them such names as "lunar courtiers" and "elegants from cloudland." That great laxity of morals prevailed amid so much luxury of life and indulgence of the senses, may be easily imagined; and if occasionally a temple was built or endowed by some wealthy magnate, motives of piety had less influence in prompting the act than the conviction that the chanting of litanies and the burning of incense were potent to secure prosperity in this world and happiness in the next.

Very different was the condition of the lower orders, especially in provincial districts. Their lives were rough and uncivilised in comparison with the luxury and refinement that existed among the patricians. They still inhabited rude, lowly dwellings, thatched with straw or boards, devoting themselves chiefly to agriculture and, on a small scale, to industrial enterprise. Every man, on attaining the age of twenty-one, was

## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

required to perform annually ten days' labour for public purposes, or to commute that *corvée* by payment of a roll of hempen cloth. The farmer handed over five per cent of the gross produce of his land to meet the expenses of local administration, and the fisherman, the weaver, the sericulturist and all other producers contributed a percentage of their staples to the support of the central government. No person might travel in the interior without a hand-bell, which he was expected to ring as he progressed, or without a passport, which he had to submit for inspection at guardhouses situated in all important localities. The art of road-making, though greatly developed through the intelligent and benevolent efforts of Buddhist priests, was still in a very backward condition, and means of conveyance, in common with inns and hostelries, were virtually non-existent. It is true that relays of post-horses were maintained along the principal routes, and that their use, as well as arrangements relating to carriers, formed the subject of special regulations. But such provisions concerned the convenience of the upper classes and of officials alone; they

## J A P A N

conferred no benefit on the plebeian. If he desired to journey, he had no choice but to carry on his own back whatever food he might want on the way, and even the utensils necessary for cooking purposes. At night, shelter had to be sought in buildings attached to temples and shrines, and even before sunset the highway robber was an object of constant dread. Naturally a water way was selected in preference to a road, wherever selection was possible; but whether poling down a river or coasting along a shore, the traveller could not count on immunity from pirates.

Superstitions traceable to China, where they still prevail, had a strong hold upon the people in the eras of which we write, namely, up to the twelfth century. They will be referred to in a subsequent chapter.

In the year 697 A. D., an extensive programme of administrative and judicial reform was elaborated, and four years later it obtained public expression in a body of laws known as the *Taikwa* statutes. The promulgation of this remarkable code marked the inauguration of an

## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

era of progress scarcely less important than the adoption of Occidental civilisation in 1867. Fifty-seven years were required to give full effect to the laws, and in many respects the improvements wrought by them did not fall short of the legislators' hopes. But with some traditional abuses they proved powerless to cope. Death and disease still continue to be associated by the lower orders with an idea of pollution or evil omen, so that a traveller falling sick by the way was often left to perish unattended; persons stricken with mortal illness were sometimes thrust out of doors lest their corpses should contaminate the house, and servants suffering from incurable maladies were abandoned to a destitute fate. It is scarcely conceivable that habits so inhuman should have prevailed among the ancestors of the modern Japanese, whose kindly care of the sick and tender treatment of the dead must be recorded to their credit. Their own writers refer the unsympathetic customs of mediæval times to a dominant love of cleanliness, an instinctive shrinking from contact with material evidences

## J A P A N

of decay. Perhaps they are right; but it must be noted that in China also, the same aversion to the proximity of a corpse influences the people's conduct to this day. Among the Chinese, indeed, the legal responsibilities attaching to a household within whose precincts a man dies, account sufficiently for the peculiarity, so far as the present time is concerned; but in remote ages the antipathy to death and disease may have had a different origin. On the whole, where a similar usage is found to exist among both nations, Chinese and Japanese, it may be safely assumed to have had its birth in China.

After the *Taikwa* era, more than one notification was issued to dispel the people's superstition about sickness and death, but not until later times did the effects of that enlightened teaching become practically apparent. Whenever a man had touched a corpse, or been present at any incident of a contaminating character, he scrupulously purified himself by scattering salt or making a libation of briny water. On the other hand, from the eighth

## M E D I Æ V A L J A P A N

century, the old method of trial by ordeal gave way to more rational methods. By the promulgation of the *Taikwa* code—the *Taiho-ryo*, as it was called—the nation found itself for the first time in possession of a body of criminal laws embodying duly defined punishments. Instead of dipping his hand in boiling water or pulling a snake out of a jar, a litigant brought his case before a local governor through a district office. Further, he enjoyed the privilege of appeal from the governor to the department of justice, and even from the department to the ministry. There were twenty grades of penalty and eight great crimes, at the head of which stood treason, *lese-majesty*, unfilial conduct and wifely infidelity. The governing classes, while holding themselves far aloof from the governed, constantly addressed to the latter admonitory proclamations, in which men were urged to be diligent in their callings, to practise economy, to value integrity, to exclude all mercenary considerations from their marriage contracts, to prefer simplicity to ostentation in their funeral rites, and not to desist from their

## J A P A N

bread-earning pursuits even during periods of mourning. Had the agriculturist, for whose behoof these fine precepts were chiefly formulated, been in a position to contrast the luxurious and effeminate conduct of his mentors with the high morality of their utterances, his wits might have been sharpened by the farce. But the life of the aristocrat lay, for the most part, far beyond the range of rustic vision; and if some evidence of its splendour occasionally flashed across the humble provincial's dull horizon, duty, enforced by heavy penalties, required that he should kneel with his head in the dust while the pageant passed. Still he was taught to believe that the ear of the ruling class was always within reach of his complaint, and to quicken his faith there were set up in convenient places boxes with slotted lids, into which he was invited to thrust a written statement of any grievance that seemed to call for redress. Moreover, in urgent cases when speedy official notice had to be attracted, the ringing of a bell hung in a public building was supposed to effect the desired purpose. Prayer to the gods held

## MEDIAEVAL JAPAN

the first rank as a sovereign specific against all trouble, — battle, murder or sudden death, — and as a remedy in seasons of sickness, doctors and drugs were reckoned alternative resources. Probably that order of aids was more or less dictated by the fact that, although physicians of repute, men skilled in all the arcana of the Chinese pharmacopœia, were easily procurable in the capital, few of them visited the provinces and fewer still devoted themselves to practice among the agricultural classes. When disease invaded the poor man's hamlet, he was practically powerless to contend against it, and, like unchecked conflagrations in a wooden city, epidemics cut their path through a country district until no more victims remained to be destroyed. Educational opportunities lay as far beyond the reach of the plebeian as medical assistance. Schools existed, one in every province, but the students taught there were chiefly sons of officials. It was assumed that learning belonged to the category of accomplishments for which a *Samurai* alone had any use, and though an edict of the Emperor Koken (749–752) required



## J A P A N

that a copy of the Confucian Analects must be among the belongings of every household, the injunction was never held applicable to farmers, artisans or tradesmen.

But if the line of division between the *Samurai* and the *Heimin*, the patrician and the plebeian, was always clearly marked, the former showed, from very early times, a keen and practical interest in the material well-being of the latter, — a natural result of the fact that from farmers (*no*), manufacturers (*ko*) and tradesmen (*sho*) the *Samurai* (*shi*) derived all his pecuniary resources. He himself paid no taxes: his business and his privilege were to spend their proceeds. But in order that the agriculturist might be able to meet the imposts levied on him, officialdom concerned itself to promote his prosperity by paternal and intelligent methods. As early as the close of the seventh century an Imperial edict authorised the remission of a portion of the farmer's legal tax, five per cent of the land's gross produce, the declared intention being to facilitate the accumulation of capital for purposes of agricultural enterprise. At that epoch

## MED I Æ V A L J A P A N

the peasant's first object was to grow rice. Wherever irrigation was possible, he devoted himself to the laborious culture of the cereal that played in the economy of the Japanese an even more important *rôle* than wheat plays in the economy of the Anglo-Saxon race. The government appreciated the advisability of extending the range of production. It has already been noted that, under the provisions of laws enacted in the seventh century, six-yearly allotments of land were regularly made for agricultural uses. For the purposes of these allotments low lands were generally chosen, but from the beginning of the eighth century special grants of uplands were made, and the farmer was encouraged to grow barley, wheat, Indian corn, sesamum, turnips, mulberries, hemp and various fruits, as oranges, peaches and chestnuts. Active encouragement was also given to the reclamation of waste districts. In short, the authorities showed themselves obedient to a principle which, despite the evident aptitude of the Japanese race for industrial pursuits, continues to be counted the basis of Japanese economy, namely, that

## J A P A N

agriculture is the prime source of a country's wealth.

Had the system then mapped out and carefully pursued by the sovereigns Jito (690-697), Gensho (715-724) and Shomu (724-749) been consistently adhered to in succeeding generations, and had its operation been guaranteed against abuses, the development of a great and intelligent yeoman class must have been gradually brought about. But partly because the growing luxury and effeminacy of the nobles surrounding the Court in Kyoto revolted the military spirit of the *Samurai* and drove them to the provinces as the only field for robust ambition, and partly because in the ever-increasing corruption of the time the recipients of land grants were often men who thought more of converting such acquisitions into money than of bringing them under cultivation, the holdings of the farmers and the reclaimed districts were gradually absorbed into great estates, the embryo of military fiefs, and the genuine agriculturist continued to receive consideration with reference to his tax-paying capacities alone. Still, the central gov-

## M E D I Æ V A L J A P A N

ernment's wise legislation during the eighth and ninth centuries must be recorded. Men that brought hitherto barren tracts into tillage and obtained a good yield received rewards in proportion to their success, and people that undertook the construction of works for purposes of irrigation or drainage were encouraged by monetary aid. To provide against the danger of famine each farmer was required to store a certain quantity of millet every year, and local officials were taught that an important part of their duties consisted in fostering the productive capacity of the districts under their control, rewards being given to governors and head-men in prosperous provinces, and punishments meted out where the returns were unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the rude character of agricultural methods may be inferred from the fact that not until the year 831 did the people conceive the idea of erecting wooden frames for drying sheaves of rice. A rice field at harvest time is in a state of moist muddiness that renders it quite unfit to be a bed for sheaves of grain, and the narrow banks that surround it do not offer

... the migration of  
... a day's ride  
... China  
... the rise of the  
... during the reign  
... 50-54... and northwest  
... the next reign.  
... the fourth century  
... had be-  
... the pasturing  
... management.  
... in  
... program  
... Imperial  
... the  
... that  
...



## J A P A N

adequate space. Previous to the inauguration of the simple device of wooden frames, a day's rain during harvest time involved heavy losses. China sent over cotton-seed towards the close of the eighth century and tea-plants during the reign of the Emperor Saga (810-824), and buckwheat and beans were introduced in the next reign, so that by the middle of the ninth century the catalogue of agricultural products had become very extensive. Fishing and the pasturing of cattle also received official encouragement, and the interest taken by the upper classes in the development of the country's material progress is attested by the fact that an Imperial Prince, Yoshimune, is said to have invented the water-wheel (*circ.* 800 A. D.), a contrivance that added immensely to facilities of irrigation.









75

1







**THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE  
STAMPED BELOW**

**BOOKS REQUESTED BY ANOTHER BORROWER  
ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL AFTER ONE WEEK.  
RENEWED BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO  
IMMEDIATE RECALL**

Due 6/3/88 ef

LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS

Book Slip—Series 458



3 1175 01051 0124

44266

DS  
810  
B7  
v.1

Brinkley, F.  
Japan.



